The Shahis of Afghanistan And Punjab

Dr. D. B. Pandey

HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, DELHI

93

THE SHAHIS OF AFGHANISTAN AND PUNJAB is the result of a careful and painstaking investigation. Dr. Pandey has studied all that has been written on the subject and has also probed into the original sources comprising inscriptions, coins and contemporary literary references. The chronology thus built up on the basis of the available sources appears to be fairly convincing. The author has also thrown light on the cultural contribution of the Shāhis including their contribution to the plastic arts and temple architecure. The treatment is quite logical and well documented. Dr. Pandey's work attempts a critical and comprehensive presentation of the subject with a number of original suggestions.

Shri Krishna Deva
Director of Archaeology,
Archaeological Survey of India.

THE SHAHIS OF AFGHANISTAN AND PUNJAB deals with the political history of an important geographical area. (Dr.) Pandey has performed a commendable task by providing us a treatment of the subject based on a thorough and careful study of the original sources. He has discussed the Turki Shahis as well as the Hindu Shahis. In my opinion (Dr.) Pandey has made a remarkable contribution in the field of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

Dr. A. K. Narain
Professor of Ancient Indian
Culture and Archaeology, B. H. U.

The Shāhis occupy a significant place in the early Medieval dynasties of India. A critical and intensive study of the political and cultural history during the Shāhi rule has been a DESIDERATUM. It is heartening to note that the present study fulfils this long-felt want. The author has, for the first time, made full use of the coins, inscriptions and art-relics for a detailed study of the political and cultural history of the period under review. He has amply shown a sense of originality and critical treatment of the subject.

Professor K.D. Bajpai
University of Saugar.

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THE SHĀHIS OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE PUNJAB

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Dr. D. B. Pandey

INDO-AFGHAN STUDIES III

THE SHAHIS OF AFGHANISTAN AND THE PUNJAB

BY

DR. D. B. PANDEY

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

FOREWORD BY

PROF. S. K. SARASWATI

1973

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DEDICATED

TO

them

WHO DEFENDED OUR NATION
IN **PAST** AND **PRESENT**

AND

Alberuni

THE PIONEER INVESTIGATOR OF
THE HISTORY OF THE SHAHIS

FOREWORD

The Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab occupy a memorable place in the annals of early mediaeval India. It is an irony of fate, however, that even their name had been forgotten, not an uncommon occurrence in Indian history, almost immediately after their disappearance from the political scene. Al-Bīrūni, coming shortly after, deplores that "this Hindu Shāhiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence." Kalhaṇa, about a century and a half later, records that "even their name had passed into oblivion as rapidly as their royal glory had vanished" (*yathā nāmapi nirnashṭaṁ śīghraṁ śāhiśriyas-tathā*), and that "in his time there were speculations whether the Śāhi kingdom, with its kings, ministers and court, had ever existed or not" (*kim-abhūt kimuvā n-ābhūd-iti saṁchintyate' dhunā*). The Shāhis had played a great role in the exciting drama of Indian resistance against Islamic aggressions and though they failed to achieve success on certain occasions against the intrepid invaders equipped with superior and at times, unscrupulous tactics, they held Islam at bay for three generations at the strategic gateway of North-West India. Al-Bīrūni, belonging to the camp of the most ruthless enemy of the Shāhis, had words of praise for the heroic Shāhi rulers : "in all their grandeur they never slackened in their ardent desire of doing that which is good and right; ... they were men of noble sentiments and noble bearing." Kalhaṇa has also referred incidentally to the royal glory of the Shāhis, their indomitable courage and bravery and the greatness of the Shāhi kingdom at the peak of its power. History, however, has failed to do proper justice to these 'heroes of frustrated destiny' and the part that they had played at a critical juncture of Indian history.

In this situation one must welcome the present study on *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab* by Dr. Deena Bandhu Pandey of Banaras Hindu University. With immense labour and painstaking care the author had delved deep into the available source material, itself a stupendous task in view of their variety and nature. They are archaeological—epigraphic, numismatic and monumental—and literary, the latter consisting mainly of foreign chronicles. The vast mass of information, thus gleaned, has been carefully and critically sifted, analysed and appraised. This method, applied correctly and conscientiously, supplies him with a solid and stable foundation on which he builds up the edifice of his thesis piece by piece, if I may be allowed to express it, architecturally. This first-hand knowledge of the source of material so rare among the young researchers of today, has enabled him to view the earlier writings on the various aspects of his study in a clear and critical perspective and to utilise them in accordance with their merit. There is very little chance of going astray in this method and it is a pleasure to find that Dr. Pandey has achieved a commendable success in presenting a comprehensive history of the Shāhi rulers in their political, social and cultural bearings.

The study consists of seven chapters and as many as twelve appendices incorporated in the relevant chapters. The contents of the chapters will indicate the comprehensive scope of the work. The treatment is consistent and coherent throughout. The topics, dealt with in the appendices, are no less relevant to this comprehensive study. Judiciously they have been treated separately in order to maintain the continuous and consistent structure of the principal chapters. It is gratifying to note that there have emerged fresh light and new suggestions on many of the obscure points in respect of chronology, identification, palaeography, coinage, attributions, etc. which seem to be fairly sound and convincing. There may be differences of opinion with regard to a few of the author's views; one cannot help it. Considered as a whole, the work admirably fulfils intention. In respect of judicious handling of the source material, their critical assessment and rational presentation Dr. Pandey evinces a fine sense of historical scholarship. This apart, his clear and lucid expression makes the whole easy and pleasant reading even to a layman. From whatever angle it is viewed, this comprehensive study is likely to remain for long a standard and authoritative publication on a very absorbing subject of Indian history.

Banaras Hindu University, (*Professor*) *S. K. Saraswati*
Varanasi.
11-4-73

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AA	*Arts Asiatiques.*
AI	E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London, 1888 (*Reprinted. Delhi* 1964).
AP	*Ancient Pakistan.*
ASI,AR	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
ASI,R	*Archaeological Survey of India Reports* by A. Cunningham.
BCMS	*Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society.*
BSOAS	*Bulletion of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*
CMI	A Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, London, 1894 (Reprinted, Varanasi 1967).
DHNI	H.C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931.
EA	*Eastern Anthropologist.*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
EW	*East and West.*
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IC	*Islamic Culture.*
IP	G.Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*. Calcutta, 1962 reprint.
IHCP	*Indian History Congress Proceedings.*
IQ	*Islamic Quarterly.*
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JAI	*Journal of Art and Industry.*
JAIH	*Journal of Ancient Indian History.*
JAOS	*Journal of the Americal Oriental Society.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JBU	*Journal of the Bombay University.*
JIH	*Journal of Indian History.*
JMPIP	*Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad.*

JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.*
JPHS	*Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
JUPHS	*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.*
Kashmir Report	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1877 extra number.
Kitab ul-Hind	*Kitabo-Abir Rayhān Mohammad bin Ahmed-al-Bīrūnī Fi Tahqiq-i-Malil-Hind. Min Maqulatin Maqbulatin Fil Aql-i-au-Marzulatin*, ed. by E.C. Sachau, London, 1858.
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
SGAMI	D.C. Sircar. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Delhi, 1960.
OA	*Oriental Art.*
Prinsep's Essays	*Essays on Indian Antiquities*, ed. by E. Thomas, London 1858.
PPHC	*Proceedings of Punjab History Congress.*
PURB	*Punjab University Research Bulletin (Arts).*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellchaft.*

Abbreviations used in describing coins

Obv.	Obverse.
Rev.	Reverse.
l.	left.
r.	right.

PREFACE

The present work deals with the history and socio-cultural traits of the times of *the Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab.* The Shāhis seem to have established their power in the Eastern Afghanistan in about the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. Their early history is totally in dark, the traces of their history being noticeable only from the 7th century A. D. The history of the rulers of Kabul and Udabhāṇḍa becomes clearer from the time of the invasion of Kabul by Yaqub ibn Laith in about 870 A.D. The Shāhis in the subsequent part of their history are found to survive at Udabhāṇḍapura upto 1026 A.D.

In ancient times 'Shāhi' appears to be a quite popular royal title in Afghanistan and in North-Western Province of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent. It has been used by the Achaemenids, Kushāṇas, and Hūṇas.[1] Certain kings who ruled in the region of Kashmir are also known to have adopted this title.[2] A general and certain chiefs are also given this appellation.[3] However, Shāhi, as a dynastic name, was conferred only on the Turki and Hindu kings of Kabul and Udabhāṇḍapura as inferred from the accounts of Alberūnī and Kalhaṇa.[4]

---

[1] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 45ff.

[2] The Shāhi kings of Gilgit region are known from an inscription and the Buddhist manuscripts found from Gilgit. Three kings Paṭoladeva alias Navasurendrāditya Nandin, Śrīdeva alias Surendra Vikramāditya Nandin and Paṭoladeva alias Vajrāditya Nandin ruled in about the 7th century A.D. No details of these rulers are known, however, they seem to have belonged to one family and probably were somehow related, as G. V. Mavalankar notices, with the family of Bhāskaravarman of Assam, as both the families are referred to have descended from Bhagadatta (Cf. G. V. Mavalankar's Presidential Address, *IHCP*, Seventeenth Session, Ahmedabad 1954, p. 29 ; also *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. by N. Datta and others, Srinagar, 1939, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 34 ff.). These Gilgit Shāhis may be taken to have belonged to the line of the rulers of Darada country one of whom Shāhi Vidyādhara of the 11th century A.D. has been referred to by Kalhaṇa (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 912).

[3] A Shāhi general is known to have served the Persian Court in the 7th century A. D. (Cf. P. Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan*, London, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 147 f.). The Shāhi chiefs of the 8th century A.D. in the services of Kashmir are referred to by Kalhaṇa (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 143.)

The region over which the Shāhi rulers held their sway has been, since early times, very important from the political and cultural point of view. The Persians, Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas and Hūṇas all wanted to occupy this area. The political importance of the region is borne out not only from the desire of these foreign people but also the attempts and anxiety of the Indian powers to hold it under their own control. In the Early Mediaeval times both Kashmir and Kanauj were endeavouring to keep the Kapiśa and Gandhāra regions under their influence. The Muslims have been casting their covetous eyes on these territories since about four centuries before Mahmūd successfully tried to translate such desires into his military actions. The area is equally important economically. It is rich in production and flourishing trade with adjacent and distant lands. As such it attracted various peoples, who lived there as *Bhāratīsantatī* or *Bhāratīprajā*, and left their influences on the existing culture and gradually got assimilated into the larger dynamic Indian society. Thus, for an investigator the history of the region becomes specially attractive and fascinating as it promises meaningful political, ethnological, socio-economical and religious investigations. From all these points of view the period of the Shāhi kings of Kabul and Udabhāṇḍapura has its own importance.

It was Alberūnī, the learned Arab traveller, who makes first enquiries about the past days of the Shāhis. However, he was not able to record their history to his full satisfaction.[5] Kalhaṇa is the second historian who makes mention of the Shāhis but only in connection with the history of Kashmir.

If we agree with N. Al Asil, the coins of bull and horseman type, a favourite Shāhi device, are interestingly referred to by Shaikh Ja'afar bin Alī of Damascus in about the 13th century A.D.[6] However, the coins bearing bull on the obverse and a horseman on the reverse attracted the investigators as early as the forties of the 19th century.[7] These coins were fancifully attributed to Aryandes, the governor of Egypt under Darius.[8] J. Prinsep tried to identify the kings who issued these coins with the rulers bearing identical names and belonging to the Rajput dynasties of Mewar, Gujrat etc. Though he noted that the palaeography was not in agreement with such a late date as the one to which the Rajput kings belonged.[9] The correct attribution of the coins was suggested by E. Thomas, as the kings bearing same names were found in Alberūnī's account of India to have ruled at Kabul.[10] Since then numismatists have published a series of notes commenting upon the chronology and identifications of these Shāhi kings.[11]

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[4] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 45 ff.

[5] *Kitāb ul-Hind*, trans. by E.C. Sachau, *AI*, Vol. II, pp. 10 f.

The last two decades of the 19th century witnessed the efforts of A. Cunningham[12], H. M. Elliot,[13] and M. A. Stein,[14] to reconstruct the history of the Shāhis. Their treatment of the subject was neither intensive nor it fully and scientifically exploited the available numismatic and literary information. They dealt with the history of the Shāhis in fact *en passant* because their attention was directed towards other problems of history and archaeology. There was little scope for a comprehensive account of the Shāhis in their works. During the twenties of the present century the epigraphic records of the Shāhi kings came to light.[15] However, those who wrote on the history of the Shāhis in the second and third decades took no notice of these and other records, except C. V. Vaidya who mentioned the finds of D. R. Sahni.[16] The investigations of G. Bühler[17] and J. Ph. Vogel[18] regarding the Śāradā script were hardly devoted to trace the early development of the script, used by the Shāhis, perhaps due to paucity of the epigraphic materials; the period of the Shāhis found only a simple mention. This lacuna is being hopefully filled up with the completion of the present work.

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[6] *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pt. II, 1946, pp. 152 f.

[7] Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Section 'History of Bull and Horseman type Coins'.

[8] *Scriptual Geography*, Philadelphia, 1835, p. 151.

[9] *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities*, ed. by E. Thomas, London 1858, Vol. I, pp. 311 ff.

[10] *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, pp. 177 ff.; also *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities*, pp. 313 ff.

[11] For a survey of work done, Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Section 'History of Bull and Horseman type Coins.'

[12] *ASI, R* 1872-73, Vol. V, pp. 82 ff.; *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 184 ff.; *CMI*, pp. 55 ff.

[13] *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ed. by J. Dowson, Vol. II, Allahabad reprint, pp. 403 ff.

[14] *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth. Zum Doctor-Jubileaum*, Stuttgart, pp. 198 ff.; *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. II, pp. 336 ff.

Though the scholars like G. Rai,[19] R. C. Majumdar[20] and C. V, Vaidya[21] have dealt with the Shāhis in a bit detailed manner, the attempt of H. C. Ray[22] stands apart for its own merit. He has treated the Shāhi history from the very beginning and not from the time of the Muslim inroads as is done by the above mentioned scholars. The approach adopted by Ray is scientific and critical, yet it lacks in full and proper utilization of the numismatic and epigraphic evidences. M. Habib,[23] W. Haig,[24] and M. Nazim[25] have studied the Shāhi

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15. *ASI, AR*, 1917, p. 20 ; *EI*, Vol. XXII, 1932-33, pp. 97 ff.
16. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. III, Poona, 1926, p. 20.
17. *IP*, pp. 91 ff.
18. *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 42 ff.
19. *JPHS*, Vol. VII, 1918, pp, 115 ff.
20. *Haraprasāda Saṁvardhana Lekhamālā*, Calcutta, 1929, Vol. II, pp. 105 ff. ; *JIH*, Vol. X, pt. I, Dacca University Supplement, Reprinted Madras, 1931.
21. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vols. I-III. Poona, 1921-26, respective chapters.
22. *DHNI*, Chapter II, pp. 55 ff.
33. *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Aligarh, 1927,
24. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Cambridge, 1928, chapter II. pp. 11 ff.
25, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931. pp. 194 ff. also 29 ff., 86 ff.

kings while dealing with the life and times of Mahmūd which was their primary concern and objective. All these scholars were concentrating their attention on the Muslim history and hardly found any scope to deal with the Shāhis in detail except with regard to those points of their history which were taken to have direct bearing on the main issues.

The Shāhis have attracted many present scholars,[26] but none of these has dealt with the problem in a comprehensive way.

Thus the history of the Shāhi kings of Kabul and Udabhāṇḍapura in all its details remained a *desideratum* which the present study hopes to fulfil.[27]

Regarding the present work. The investigations into the obscure history of the Shāhis started with the study of the original materials. The archaeological material was taped first. The study of the Shāhi coinage provided a basic framework of the chronology and hints to the economic and religious conditions of those times. The epigraphs were studied next. They added something new to our knowledge about the chronology and the religious and political pattern of the period. These epigraphs gave an opportunity to study the Śāradā script in considerable detail. The sculptures and temples of the period attributable to the Shāhis, informing us about the artistic activity and the prevalence of certain religious cults are treated separately. After studying the direct

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26. A.A. Kohzad (1946,1950), M.Baqir (1948), H.Goetz (1954-1957, 1964), R. C. Majumdar (1954, 1955), D.C. Ganguli (1955, 1957), A.L. Srivastava (1956), D. Barrett (1957), O. Caroe (1958), G. Tucci (1958, 1963), D.C. Sircar (1960), A.B. Sen (1961), M. Taddei (1962, 1964), G. Singh (1965, 1968), C. E. Bosworth (1965, 1967), B. Prakash (1965), L. Gopal (1966), H. Humbach (1966-68), S. R. Varma (1969), S. D. Singh Charak (1970), P. Banerjee and R C. Agrawala (1971), etc. For the details of their contributions see bibliography at the end. For the studies in numismatics by the present scholars, Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Section 'History of Bull and Horseman type Coins'.

27. Acknowledgement is due to all those scholars from whose writings the author has been benefitted and has reproduced some of the illustrations.

evidences of the coins, epigraphs and art objects, the indirect literary evidences comprising the accounts of indigenous and foreign writers, were taken into consideration. The narratives relating to the Shāhi times were exploited critically. The facts thus deduced from both, the direct and indirect evidences were carefully and objectively utilised to weave out the pattern of those bygone days of the Shāhis. The knowledge of the ancient geography of the region was a prerequisite for proper understanding of the economic and trade conditions and the political and religious importance of the Shāhi kingdom and their cities etc. The secondary sources were considered at the end ; they were examined, evaluated and used in the light of the facts known from the original sources. The results of our investigations carried on the lines stated above have taken the form of the present work comprising seven chapters and twelve appendices.

The I Chapter deals with the Historical Geography of Uttarāpatha in the Early Mediaeval period with special reference to the region over which the Shāhi Kings hold their sway, its Hydrography, Physiography, Ranges, Passes and Routes, Cities and other important places, climate and Products etc. The Geography has been studied in reference to the Politico-cultural conditions of those days.

The discussion on the title 'Shāhi' forms the subject matter of the II Chapter. This title originally 'Kshāyatiya' in Persian, which was used by the Kushāṇas as 'Shāhi' in later times was inherited by the Shāhi Kings on their turns.

III Chapter contains the investigations about the Turki Kings. Instead of taking them as Kushāṇas, it is suggested that they belong to the Hūṇa stock. The first king Barhtakīn is identified with the founder of the Hūṇa power in India recorded as Tegin by Sung Yun. In the dynasty which ended in 860 A. D. with Lagatūrmān, who was a wicked ruler, probably Kanika (=Kanishka) was wrongly included. The history of the dynasty is treated in relation to the powers of

Thanesar, Kashmir and the Arabs. Nothing very clear is known about the kings of dynasty which survived for about sixty generations.

The Hindu Shāhis are treated in detail in the Chapter IV. A new chronology is suggested to this dynasty, founded by the Brāhmaṇa usurper Kallar, to suit the events. The suggested chronology is based on the numismatic, epigraphic and literary data. The grounds were found to disagree with the identification of Spalapatideva, Sāmantadeva, Lalliya and Kallar as one person and so was the case with Kamalu (ka) Kamara and Khvadavayaka. The later rulers of the dynasty are treated in full detail with new suggestions regarding the battles of Jayapāla, Ānandapāla, and Trilochanapāla with the Muslims. Many important problems like Capital, Army and War-fare and the purpose of the Muslim attacks being more economic than political or religious, are dealt with in appendices.

The Chapter V deals specially with the early phase of the Śāradā script. The palaeography is exhaustively treated with special reference to the Shāhi inscriptions, coins and Bakhshālī Manuscript. An appendix contains the inscriptions with text and translation along with their importance and other noticeable facts.

The coinage of the Shāhis is dealt with in the VI Chapter. With a review of the studies on coins of the Shāhis, the motifs and types, metrology, issues of kings, mint-marks etc. are studied to present results suggesting about the chronology, trade relations and the prosperity of age under review. The numismatic terms are treated separately.

The study regarding the art of the period, trade, economic and religions conditions, inhabitants and social customs etc. is put in the VII Chapter entitled Cultural Gleamings. Though we have less material for such studies but the investigations have brought some interesting results.

The completion of the present research work could not have been possible without the encouraging and able guidance and valuable suggestions which the author received from his supervisor Professor A.K. Narain, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, and Dean, Faculty of Arts, Banaras Hindu University, to whom he expresses his sincere gratitude. The meetings with him were always encouraging and aroused a new confidence in the author which enabled him to proceed in the field which has remained unworked and consequently obscure till now.

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Deena Bandhu Pandey

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE has planned to publish a series of research books on the *Indo-Afghan Studies*, the THREE VOLUMES of which will cover the period from the early times to the beginning of the 11th century A.D. The present work *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab* by Dr. Deena Bandhu Pandey of the Banaras Hindu University, is the THIRD VOLUME of the above series.

Jamna Das Akhtar

CHAPTER I

LAND OF THE SHĀHIS

We have only a little literature to throw light on the historical geography of North-Western India during Early Mediaeval times. Whatever may be gleaned from the Indian and foreign writings does not give even a sketchy geography of the land concerned.[1]

UTTARĀPATHA : THE HIND OF THE ARABS

Indian geographers record the nine divisions of India prevalent in Early Mediaeval days.[2] The country is mentioned

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[1] This would have been only possible to some extent if the *Bhuvanakosha* of Rājaśekhara was available to us. He alludes to this text in the 17th chapter of his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.

[2] The concept of the nine divisions of India came into existence in about the Gupta period. They are mentioned for the first time by Varāhamihira (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Chapter 14) who, according to H. Kern, followed Parāśara (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Calcutta, 1865, Preface, p. 32). The nine divisions are found in the *Vāyu*, *Matsya Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vishṇudharmottara*, *Garuḍa* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* also. The divisions given in all these works are as following :

Bṛihatsṁhitā, 14. 1 and following: Madhyadeśa, Uttara, Pūrva, Dakshiṇa, Apara, Āgneya, Aiśāna, Naiṛitya, Paśchimottara.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 58. 33-56: Madhyadeśa, Udīchya, Prāchya, Dakshiṇāpatha, Aparānta, Vindhyavāsin, Parvatāśrayin, Uttara Narmadā.

Vāyu Purāṇa, 45. 111-135 : Madhyadeśa, Udīchya, Prāchya, Dakshiṇāpatha, Aparānta, Vindhyappṛishṭha, Parvatāśrayin, Antara Narmadā, Manorama Pradeśa.

Matsya Purāṇa, 114. 36-55 : Madhyadeśa, Udīchya, Prāchya, Dakṣhiṇāpatha, Aparānta, Vindhyaprishṭha, Parvatāśrayin, Antara Narmada, Manorama Pradeśa.

Vāmana Purāṇa, 13. 35-57 ; 63-77 : Madhyadeśa, Uttarāpatha, Prāchya, Dakshiṇāpatha Vindhyamūlastha, Parvatāśrayin, Sunarmadā, Saptagodāvarī.

Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa, 1. 9. 2-10 : Madhyadeśa, Himavāna-udīchī, Pūrva, Dakshiṇāpatha, Paśchima, Pūrvadakshiṇa, Udakpūrva, Dakshiṇapaśchima, Uttarapaśchima.

(Contd. on page 14)

as being in the form of a tortoise.[3] The name of the country was called Bhārata or Bhāratavarsha.[4] The North-Western region of Bhārata was known as Udīchya or Uttarāpatha.[5]

On the other hand the Muslim wtiters name the country Hind. To them Hind was the whole of the country which lays to the east of the river Helmand, thus comprising Ghazni, Kabul and Kandahar in the North-Western region together with the rest of India excluding Sind.[6]

The name of the country as Hind wás probably known to the Arabs through the Persians, who called the province by

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(*Contd. from page 13*)

Garuḍa Purāṇa, 55. 10-18 : Madhyadeśa, Himavāna-udīchī, Pūrva, Dakshiṇāpatha, Paśchima, Pūrvadakshiṇa, Udakpūrva, Dakshiṇapaśchima, Uttarapaśchima.

The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* mentions only about the nine parts likening them to the form of a lotus flower with eight petals (H. H. Wilson, London, 1840, Vol. II, p. 9).

The Early Mediaeval period shows a trend towards making five main divisions of country (Cf. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, ed. by C. D. Dayal and R. A. Shastry, Baroda, 1916, pp. 92 ff.), as was prevalent since Vedic days. But most probably the nine division formula of Varāhamihira was much more in vogue than Rājaśekhara's as the said formula was also accepted by six Purāṇa writers and the Arab writers like Alberūnī (*Kitāb ul-Hind*, trans. by E.C. Sachau '*AI*, Vol. I, pp. 296 f.).

[3] This form is mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (58. 2-4), *Nārada* (36-739), *Vishṇu* (2.2.50) and *Skanda* (7.1.167.33) *Purāṇas* and *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (14.1). Rājaśekhara (*Kāvyāmīmāṁsā*, p. 90) and Alberūnī (E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 297) also agree with the above mentioned Purāṇas and Varāhamihira.

[4] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 92 ; E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

[5] *Supra*, list given in f.n. 2 ; also see references given in f.n. 3.

[6] "In the map given in Masatch or Mamatch, the Hirmand (Helmund) is styled the river of Hind and Sind i.e. its western boundary and east of it was Hind and Kabul was a province of Hind" (H. G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and Parts of Baluchistan*, London, 1888, p. 2). The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, a Persian geography of the late 10th century A.D. names the country as Hindustān along with Hind. It describes the boundary and extent of the country as follows : 'East of it are the countries of China and Tibet ; South of it the great sea ; West of it the river Mihrān ; North of it the country of Shakvān belonging to Vakhān and some parts of Tibet, (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, trans and explained by V. Minorsky, London, 1937, 10 Discourse of Hindustān and its towns, p 86). However, in later days Hind denoted only the land East of Indus (Cf. S. M. Ahmad, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. by B. Lewis and others, new edition, Leiden-London, 1967, p. 404).

this name since the times of the Achaemenid kings.[7] The region of Sind was already conquered by the Arabs in the early 8th century A. D. and hence when Hind was taken to denote the whole of the Indian land, Sind was always excluded, as it was a part of the kingdom of the Arabs. The kingdom of Zabul and Kabul also were treated out of the land of Hind in subsequent days, when the Turks held sway over those lands.

The Southern boundary of Hind is not very clearly noticed but the region of Multan may be taken conveniently as the demarkation line. Multan is once recorded as under the dominions of Jayapāla.[8] During his reign Multan was considered a town of India by a Persian geographer also.[9] Idrisi mentioned the city as situated on the frontier of India, and as being the last city of Sind. But he also states that some people call it part of the territory of India.[10]

The Hind of the Arabs may well be taken to comprise the Hindu and Gaḍara of the Achaemenid kings. India of the early Greek writers (pre-Alexandrine notices by Herodotus, Hecateus and Ktesias) must have also denoted that same land. The ancient Hindu (=Sindhu) possibly had its eastern boundary up to the Sind-Sagar Doab, the region between the rivers Jhelum and Indus.[11] It was only afterwards that the

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[7] For the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings in which India (Hindu) is mentioned as a province, see D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 6 ff., nos. 2-5.

[8] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, trans. by J. Briggs, *The rise of the Mahommedan Power in India*, Vol. I, London 1829, p. 15.

[9] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, *on. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.

[10] R. K. Chaube, *India as Told by Muslims*, Varanasi, 1969, p. 154.

[11] According to V. A. Smith, 'Hindu comprised the course of the Indus from Kālābāgh to the sea, including the whole of Sind and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus' (*The Early History of India*, 4th edition, Oxford, 1962 print, p. 40). Some other scholars identify the ancient Sindhu janapada with the Sind-Sagar Doab (V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1953, p. 50 ; V. S. Agrawala, *Bhārata kī Maulika Ekatā*,

(*Contd. on page 16*)

other parts of India were also denoted by the same name as those parts came under the political or mercantile notices of the Muslims. In this way the word Hind excluded some of the North-Western regions and included the Eastern parts to the country, which it later denoted in due course of time.[12]

From the above discussions we may conclude that Hind mentioned by the Arabs represented mainly the North-Western part of India, i.e. the Uttarāpatha.

The region of Uttarāpatha was not very far from Sthāṇvīśvara (Thanesar).[13] Rājaśekhara places it North of Pṛithūdaka,[14] identified with Pehoa in Punjab[15] (now Haryana).

In the traditional accounts of India about 90 peoples are recorded inhabiting the Northern division.[16] In the Early Mediaeval times also the peoples inhabiting the Northern division are noticed in a traditional way.[17] Politically, Kapiśa, Gandhāra, Kaśmīra and the country belonging to the Muslims with their adjoining regions were important in the Early Mediaeval days.

(*Contd. from page 15*)

Allahabad, V. S. 2011, p. 31 ; S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 123). However, a correlation of the Sind-Sagar Doab and Hind (=Sindhu) of the 5th century B. C. will not be unreasonable. The voyage of Skylax from the upper Indus to the Red Sea also gives hints that Lower Sind was not well known to the Persians while they were acquainted with the Upper Indus and its region.

[12] The other parts of India came to be known to the foreigners through the region Hindu (or India of the Greeks) and thus the name came to be used for whole of the Indian continent.

[13] Cf. *Harshacharita*, ed. by P. V. Kane, Delhi, 1965, *Uchchhvāsa* 5, p. 19. Rājyavardhana proceeds to Uttarāpatha from the capital Sthāṇvīśvara.

[14] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[15] A. Cunnigham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Varanasi, 1963 reprint, p. 283; N.L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Calcutta, 1928, p. 160. The ancient tradition places Udīchya, or Udīchī North of the river Śarāvatī, (Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 38).

[16] S. B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 ff.

[17] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyaśikshā* of Vinayachandra, *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra etc.

REGIONS FORMING THE SHĀHI KINGDOM

It were the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra which formed the heart of the kingdom of the Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab. At the time of the Pushyabhūti king Prabhākaravardhana the regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra are mentioned as separate kingdoms.[18] Kapiśa was under the sway of the Hūnas.[19] The regions of Kapiśa and Gandhāra are also mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. When he visited North-Western India the Kshatriya ruler of Kapiśa had his second capital at Udabhāṇḍapura[20] and Gandhāra was subject to Kapiśa.[21] The political importance of Kapiśa is connected with the early Turkish Shāhis ruling from Kāpiśī and Kabul. The importance of Gandhāra is connected with the Hindu Shāhis who ruled from Udabhāṇḍapura. The kingdom of the Turki Shāhis comprised the whole of Kabulistan and the land up to the river Indus in the East, having the Hindu Kush and Koh-i-Baba ranges in the North and North-West, Zabulistan in the South-West and South, the river Indus in the East and Kashmir in the North-East.[22] The kingdom of the Hindu Shāhi kings was largest in its extent in the reign period of Jayapāla when it reached Lamghan in the North-West, Sirhind in the South-West, Kashmir in the North and Multan in the South.[23] Thus the region from the Western Punjab to the Hindu Kush and from the fringes of Kashmir down to the region of Multan was once ruled by the Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab.

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[18] *Harshacharita* (*Uchchhvāsa* 4, p. 1) mentions the Hūṇas and kingdom of Gandhāra separately. In an 11th century work *Vaijayantī*, (ed. by G. Oppert, Madras, 1893, p. 37) probably Shāhis in the name of Sākhis (according to L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 114) are mentioned as other than the Gandhāras.

[19] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 580 f.

[20] S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang* by S. Hwui-li, London, 1911, p. 192.

[21] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. I, pp. 199, 123 and 221.

[22] Cf. *Infra*, p. 68.

[23] Cf. *Infra*, p. 107.

Kapiśa is taken to coincide with modern Kafiristan and to occupy the whole area between the river Kunar and the Hindu Kush mountain.[24] Hiuen Tsang mentions it (*Kia-pi-shi*) as being about 666 miles (4000 li) in extent.[25] Rājaśekhara did not notice this region in the Uttarāpatha, however, though it was within his knowledge.[26] Alberūnī names it Kāyabish. The region by the 10th century A. D. was known as the kingdom of Kabul.[27] The Chinese at that time called it Tsan or Kipin.[28] At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit the Lampā, Nagara, Gandhāra and Varaṇa territories were subjects to Kapiśa.[29] The region of Takshaśilā which had been formerly subject to Kapiśa was a dependency of Kashmir.[30]

Lampā (*Lan-po*) is identified with Lamghan,[31] bounded by the Kabul river on the South, the river Alingar on the West and Kunar on the East, and by the snowy mountains in the North. The size of the country is recorded about 166 miles (1000 li).[32] In Purāṇic and Epic literature it is noticed as Lampāka.[33] Rājaśekhara records it as Limpāka[34] and Yādavaprakāśa as Lampāka.[35]

Nagara (*Na-Ka-lo-ho*) region laying South-East of Lamghan is identified with the vicinity of Jalalabad.[36] The extent of the country is said to be about 100 miles (600 li) from East to West and 42 miles (250 li) from North to South. The natural boundaries of the region, the Jagadalak Pass on the West, the Khyber Pass on the East, with the Kabul river to the North and the Safed Koh mountain to the South well suits the measurement given by the Chinese pilgrim.[37] F. E. Pargiter identifies the region with the Nigrahāra variously referred to in the Purāṇas.[38] An inscription, found in Bihar, gives the name Nagarahāra.[39] The tract is called in modern times by name Nungnehār.

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[24] V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 48.

[25] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[26] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 12.

[27] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 259.

[28] H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1915, Vol. I, p. 72.

[29] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 181, 183, 199; Vol. II, p. 262. Ten neighbouring countries are said to be under the power of Kapiśa (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 123). However, only four are named.

[30] *ibid.*, p. 240.

[31] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.

[32] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[33] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 36; also S. B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 100; D. C. Sircar, *SGAMI*, p. 26.

[34] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[35] *Vaijayantī*, p. 37.

[36] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Gandhāra (*Kan-to-lo*) placed to the West of the river Indus, about 166 miles (1000 li) from East to West and 133 miles (800 li) from North to South, corresponds to the region having Lamghan and Jalalabad on the West, the hills of Swat and Buner on the North, the Indus on the East and hills of Kalabagh on the South.[40] The Gandhāra country was well known from much earlier times, with its two cities, Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvatī, extending from the Kabul valley to Taxila. Rājaśekhara notices this country, but not as a part of Indian territory.[41] Alberūnī noticed it as Kandhāra.[42] By the 11th century A.D. Gandhāra was also known as Udabhāṇḍa,[43] and perhaps the name Gandhāra went out of vogue.

Varaṇa (*Fa-la-na*), about 666 miles (4000 li) in area and placed South-East of Ghazni, is rightly identified with Bannu by A. Cunningham, comprising whole of the two large valleys of Kuram and Gomal rivers,[44] against the suggestion of

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[37] *ibid.*, pp. 37 f.

[38] *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1904, p. 345,

[39] *JASB*, Vol. XVII, 1848, pp. 490 f.

[40] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[41] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 28.

[42] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 206.

[43] *Vaijayantī*, p. 37 ; also D. C. Sircar, *SGAMI*, pp. 231 f.

[44] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 f.

St. Martin, who prefers to identify the said region with Vanih (modern Banih). According to M. A. Stein the Varaṇa of Hiuen Tsang represents the ancient Varṇu, modern Bunner between the rivers Swat and Indus.[45] But, Stein's suggestion proves incorrect in the view of geographical situations of Varaṇa and Varṇu as explained by S. Levi.[46]

The other ancient lands which formed the kingdom of the Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab may be named as follows: Udyāna (the Swat Valley), Kekaya (modern Jhelum and Shahpur districts), Barbara (the region near Sind-Sagar Delta), Vāhīka (the region in between the rivers Indus and Sutlej) and Kīra and Kulūta (the Kangra valley). All these are noticed by Rājaśekhara[47] and Hiuen Tsang.[48]

PHYSIOGRAPHY

The physiography of the North-Western region of India may be gleaned from the geographical terms applied to it, like *parvatāśrayin*, *parvatamaru*, and *pañchanada*. The peoples who belonged to the *parvatāśrayin* group obviously lived in mountainous countries.[49] *Parvatamaru* refers to the mountainous steppes.[50] The third term indicates the Indus-Sutlej plain of the Punjab, drained by five rivers.[51] Hiuen Tsang tells us about the mountainous lands of Kapiśa and Varaṇa.[52] We may also glean some information from the ancient names like Urdhasthāna in Kabul area, so called because of its being situated on high land,[53] but such evidence are little. This meagre evidence makes it hard to study the physiography of the land of the Shāhis. The present physiography may well be utilised to study the political and cultural problems of those old days which must have been considerably affected by such factors.

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[45] *Archaeological Survey Work, N. W. Frontier Province and Baluchistan*, Calcutta, 1905, p. 4.

[46] *JUPHS*, Vol. XV, pt. II, December 1942, pp. 36 f.

[47] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[48] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 123 ff.

[49] S B. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 ff, ; 141 ff.

[50] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 262 ; also D. C. Sircar, *SGAMI*, p. 67.

[51] *ibid.*, p. 44.

[52] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 123 ; Vol. II, p. 262.

[53] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

The land of the Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab comprised the areas now called Kabulistan (the land between the Hindu Kush and Safed Koh ranges), a part of the North-Western Frontier Province (the land between the Mohmand hills and Waziristan), the valley of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu, the Potwar Plateau and the plains of Punjab. The whole of the land may be categorised into three groups ; the first being the hilly tracts comprising the land South of the Hindu Kush with parts of the North-Western Frontier Province and the region of Potwar ; the second group consisting of the valleys of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu ; and the third group comprising the Western Punjab plains.[54]

MOUNTAINS

We have already noticed the mountainous country of the Eastern Afghanistan and North-Western Frontier Province. Hiuen Tsang has given a vivid description of this region in the accounts of his pilgrimage. He describes the rocky Kapiśa country surrounded by lofty mountains. The range which bounded it on the East, West and South was called Hei Ling (Black Range).[55]

Now we describe the following ranges of the kingdom of the Shāhi rulers :

Hindu Kush

Hindu Kush means 'the killer of the Hindus' in Persian language. The ancient name Lohitāgiri (Blood Mountain) in the *Kāśikā* may be connected with this name. The role of the mountain in any of the conflicts with foreigners, approaching through it, may have been one of the reasons to be called as 'the killer of the Hindus'. Hiuen Tsang seems to have included it in the mount Paropamisus (*Po-lo-si-na*,[56] Paresh or Aprasin of the *Zend Avestā*)[57] which bordered the Kapiśa region. A. Cunningham notices a definite mention of this range by Hiuen Tsang[58] who describes it without naming as lying to the North-West of the capital of Kapiśa, with a lake on its summit, distant about 33 miles (500 li).[59]

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[54] For details, Cf. L.D. Stamp, *Asia*, London, 1959, pp. 179 ff. and O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, London, 1960, pp. 434 ff.

[55] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 39. Black Range denotes the range not covered by snow (Cf. *ibid* , p. 123).

The Hindu Kush, running from the Pamirs in a South-Westerly direction, together with Koh-i-Baba (ancient Bhañjanāgiri), form the natural boundary of India. Though it was considered inaccessible, but several passes made it possible for armies to invade India by this route.

A-lu-no (Aruṇa)

The mountain is referred to as lying in the country Kapiśa by Hiuen Tsang.[60] This range has been identified[61] with the Aruṇa range mentioned by Alberūnī.[62] However, at present, the proper location of the mountain is not possible.

Pi-lo-sho-lo (Pīlusāra)

This is another mountain of Kapiśa referred to in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang. The pilgrim records the name of the range given from its presiding genius, who had the form of an elephant. Julien restored the name of Pīlusāra.[63] The situation of the hill is recorded to the South-West of the capital of Kapiśa.

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[56] *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 129.

[57] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[58] *loc. cit.*

[59] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[60] *ibid.*, p, 126.

[61] *loc. cit.*

[62] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 143.

Mountain near *Po-lu-sha* city

The Chinese pilgrim has mentioned a mountain in Gandhāra country near the city *Po-lu-sha* (modern Palodheri).[64] He did not record the name of the mountain. However, it may be identified with the hill of Dant Loka which is near by the village Palodheri.

Bhātul

This mountain, noticed by Alberūnī, the source of the river Kaj (modern Ujh), a tributary of Ravi,[65] is the hill of the Kangra valley where Nagarkot (modern Kot Kangra) is situated.

Hills of Kashmir

The hills of Kashmir near Ohind are recorded by 'Utbī.[66] The hills were used for protection by the kings Ānandapāla and Trilochanapāla when troubled by Mahmūd. These hills are also recorded by Hiuen Tsang.[67]

Bālānātha

The range was known as Raumaka in ancient days.[68] According to M. Nazim this is the range called Kashnod by

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[63] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 129.

[64] *ibid.*, p. 221.

[65] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 260.

[66] S.R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Sholapur, 1959. p. 33, f.n. 10 ; pp. 42 and 51.

[67] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

[68] For details, Cf, A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 132 f,

Gardīzī,[69] but S. R. Sharma prefers to place it in Kashmir instead of the Salt Range.[70] However, the Bālānātha hills referred to in the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* and *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī* may be identified on the authority of Bābar with the Salt Range.[71]

RIVERS

The Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab had full control over the Indus river-system. This system comprises the rivers running from West to East and North to South. The rivers Kabul and Kurram belong to the first group and the Indus with the six others to the second.

The Early Mediaeval geographers notice the following rivers of the Shāhi kingdom :[72]

Kuhu

This is one of the rivers of Uttarāpatha listed by Rājaśekhara.[73] Alberūnī also notices this river[74] of the Purāṇic literature.[75] It is identified with the Ṛigvedic river Kubhā, modern Kabul.[76] The river of Lamghan described in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[77] is taken to be the river Kabul by V. Minorsky.[78] The Persian geographer considered it as the principal course of Indus.[79] The river is described as follows, "(it) rises from the mountains on the confines of Lamghan and Dunpur and passes South—of Ninhār—".[80] The river Kuhū is described by Alberūnī under the name Ghorvand.[81] This river rises "in the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish, i.e. Kabul—. (It) is called Ghorvand, on account of its many branches. It is joined by several affluents : 1. The river of the pass of Ghuzak. 2. The river of the gorge of Panjshir, below the town of Parvān. 3-4. The river Sharvat and the river Sawā which latter flows through the town of Lambagā, i e., Lamghan. They join the Ghorvand at the fortress of Druta. 5-6. The rivers Nur and Kira. Swelled by these affluents, the Ghorvand is a great river opposite the town Purushāvar, being called the ford, from a ford near the village of Mahanār, on the Eastern bank of the river and it falls into the river Sindh near the castle of Bitūr, below the capital of Alkandahār (Gandhāra), i.e. Vaihand."[82] A tributary seems to have been noticed by Hiuen Tsang also, which flowed North-West of the capital city of Kapiśa.[83]

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[69] *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 98.

[70] *op. cit.*, p. 53, f.n. 10.

[71] Cf. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, p. 95, also f.n. 1.

[72] The names of remote antiquity which were not in use in our period of study are simply mentioned without any details.

[73] *Kāvyasmīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[74] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259.

[75] Cf. *SGAMI*, p. 41.

[76] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 31 ; A.B.L. Awasthi, *Prachīna Bhārata kā Bhaugolika Svarūpa*, Lucknow, 1964, p. 106.

[77] 6 ; Discourse of Rivers, p. 72, no. 13.

[78] *ibid.*, p. 209.

[79] *loc. cit.*

Sindhu

Hiuen Tsang had recorded the name of the river as *Sin* (*Sin-tu*).[84] The river is noticed as draining Uttarāpatha by Rājaśekhara.[85] Alberūnī names it Sindh and calls it the river of Vaihand.[86] Its source is recorded as in the mountains Urang in the territories of the Turks.[87] At the time of Alberūnī the name Sindh was applied only to the upper course of the Indus above the junction with the river Chenab.[88] The

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[80] *ibid.*, p. 73. It is wrongly described as flowing in the Multan region.

[81] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p, 259.

[82] *loc. cit.*

[83] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 128.

[84] *ibid.*, pp. 198 f.

[85] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[86] E C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 206 f. and 259.

[87] *ibid.*, p. 207.

[88] *ibid.*, p. 260. After that up to the city Aror it was called Pañchanada and then Mihrān. The name Mihrān as applying to that part of Indus is also mentioned in the *Ḥudud al-'Ālam*, p. 72.

Persian geographer of the *Ḥudūda l-'Ālam* names the river Sind and considers it a left affluent of the river Kabul. According to him it "rises on the West of the mountain Qasak, which is also called the mountain of Ice", but he wrongly mentions the Multan region as watered by it.[89]

Vitastā

This river of Uttarāpatha[90] is recorded by Alberūnī by two names—Biyattā[91] and Jailam.[92] The latter name is given to the river from the city of that name on its Western bank. This name is still prevalent as Jhelum. Its rise is recorded in the mountain Hamarkot.[93] The river Chenab is recorded as joining it about 50 miles above Jahravār (ancient Sauvīra[94]) and passing onwards to the West of Multan.[95]

Chandrabhāgā

The river Chandrabhāgā listed by Rājaśekhara[96] is also noticed by Alberūnī.[97] Chandrāh is an other name of the same river.[98] which is clearly a derivation from the former. Its junction with the Jhelum is recorded about 50 miles above Jahravār (ancient Sauvīra) as already noticed. This river, nowadays known as Chenab is still retaining its old name preserved in a *tadbhava* (natural derivative) form. The Vedic name of the river was Asiknī.[99]

Irāvatī

This river of Uttarāpatha noticed by Rājaśekhara[100] in Early Mediaeval times was known in ancient days as Airāvatī from which the former name would have been derived. Alberūnī also notices the river by the name Irāvatī and a contraction of it into Irāvā.[101] The present name Rāvī is produced by simple transposition of the vowel *ī* at the end of the word. Alberūnī records a tributary of Ravi rising from the mountains of Bhātul in Nagarkot and named Kaj[102] This tributary may be identified with the river Ujh, flowing through Jasrota district and falling into the river Ravi, taken to be the river Uddhya of Pāṇini's time.[103] The other tributary Baī, known as Bhidya in ancient days. is, however, not mentioned by Alberūnī.

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[89] *loc. cit.*, no. 14.

[90] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[91] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 259.

[92] *loc. cit.*, also p. 206.

[93] *ibid.*, pp. 206 f.

[94] D.C. Sircar, *SGAMI*, p. 44.

[95] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 259 f.

[96] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94,

[97] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 259 and 260.

[98] *ibid.*, p. 259,

[99] *SGAMI*, p. 42.

[100] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

Vipāśa

Hiuen Tsang notices this river by name *Pi-po-she* (Bibās) as the Eastern boundary of the Takka country.[104] The ancient name of the river was Vipāś which, with its original form, also expanded to Vipāśā in the Purāṇic literature.[105] Rājaśekhara has noted the latter.[106] Alberūnī refers it as Biyāh.[107] It seems that the name of the river had already undergone a change, dropping the letter *pa* of the word Vipāśa before Alberūnī's visit. Thus the present names Beas (Byāsa) or Byāsā may have come into local use from about the 10th century A.D. A tributary of Beas named Devikā,[108] may be identified with Deg.[109]

Śatadru

This Purāṇic name of the river [110] was also prevalent in the Early Mediaeval days.[111] The ancient name of the river was

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[101] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 259 and 260.

[102] *loc. cit.*

[103] V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 44.

[104] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 286.

[105] Cf. *SGAMI*, p. 41.

[106] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[107] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 259 and 260.

[108] *ibid.*, p. 259.

[109] D.C. Sircar, *SGAMI*, p. 41. However, there was a Devikā river, in the East (also Cf. *JUPHS*, Vol. XVII, pt. II, 1944, pp. 67 ff.).

[110] *SGAMI*, p. 94.

[111] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* p. 94.

Śutudri from which it would have changed to Śatadru. Alberūnī notices it by three names—Śatarudra, Śataldar and Śatldar.[112] The former form is a corruption from Śatadru, and the latter two forms are due to the replacement of *ru* by *la* and the interchange of the letters *ta* and *la*. The modern name Sutlej may well have derived from the secorrupt forms. If we follow the identification of this river as given by V. Minorsky,[113] a new name Hivān[114] is noticed for the first time in the 10th century A.D. It is recorded as coming from the mountain Hivān and passing between Jalavvat, Balavvat and Birūza. The river then enters the province of Multan and falls into the river Indus (noticed as the river of Lamghan).[115]

Hiuen Tsang noticed the river bounding the West of the country *She-lo-tu-lu* (Śatadru),[116] but he did not mention its name.

Kurmah

This river is identified with the [Kurram, in which valley the battle between Sabuktigin and Jayapāla with many of Indian forces was fought.[117] The ancient name of the Kurram was Krumu.

PASSES AND ROUTES

Communications are recorded through rivers and land routes which connected the lands of the Shāhis with Kashmir and Central Asia and China in the North, Western Afghanistan and Baluchistan in the West, Sind and the Arabian Sea in the South and interior of India in the East.

The rivers rising from the Hindu Kush and Himalayas joining the river Indus may well be considered to have provid-

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112. E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 259 nnd 260.
113. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p, 209.
114. *ibid.*, p. 72, no. 15.
115. *loc. cit.*
116. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 299.
117. H.G. Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

ed facilities to travel from the North-Western and Northern lands up to the sea through the kingdom of the Shāhis.

There are two important Passes by which to enter the Indian land. The one, in the North is the Khyber Pass, which had been in all ages the main gateway of India. This route runs from Mazar-i-Sharif in the Oxus valley through Bamiyan to Kabul, and descends to Peshawar running parallel to the Kabul valley through the Khyber Pass, a winding and narrow defile of about 20 miles. The other route passes through the Bolan Pass to Sind. Hiuen Tsang came to Kapiśa from Bamiyan and proceeded to Lamghan, Nagara, Pushkalāvatī and Udakabhāṇḍa.[118] The pilgrim mentions a route leading to the country of Varaṇa from Lamghan.[119] From Udakabhāṇḍa the main route led to Takshaśilā and another route went to Udyāna and Kashmir.[120] The city of Takka was connected by a route with Rājapura of Kashmir. This route led the pilgrim to Śākala and then to Chīnabhukti and Jālandhara.[121] From this place the valley of Kulūta was approached.[122] From the capital city of Kulūta the Northern route led to Tibet ; this route was bad and cold.[123] From the same city a route towards the South led to the country called Śatadru.[124]

At the end of the 9th century A.D. Abū Zaid indicates that the Central Asian route was in use.[125] On the evidence of the *Sung-shi* it may be presumed that the priest of the Wei-chou, who travelled from Nālandā through Northern

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[118] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 102 ff.

[119] *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 262 ff.

[120] *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

[121] *ibid.*, pp. 286 ff.

[122] *ibid.*, p. 293.

[123] *ibid.*, p. 299.

[124] *loc. cit.*

[125] E. Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers*, London, p. 75, as quoted by L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 107, f.n. 4.

India, would have returned to China[126] by the route which passes through Peshawar and Kabul.

Though the Central Asian route seems to have been in use in Early Mediaeval times, there is evidence to show that this route was gradually being replaced by the sea route.[127]

In the 10th century A.D., Chinese monks bear witness to two routes ; the one, from Peshawar leading to China through Kashmir ; and the other, from the Swat valley to Persia through Attock and Peshawar, Jalalabad, Lamghan and Ghazni.[128]

According to Alberūnī the region of Sijistan was connected with India by more than one possible route. Among these he mentions the route through Kabul,[129] perhaps the most popular one, It seems to be the same route which connected Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar and Ohind, crossed the rivers Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi, came to Lahore, and then went on to Mandhukur, Jajjanir, and Adittahaur and finally reached Kanauj.[130]

The march of Jayapāla against Sabuktigin's raid,[131] and the marches of Mahmūd[132] recorded by the Muslim historians must have followed the route mentioned above. Jayapāla would have started from Ohind to reach Lamghan by the route going through Peshawar and Jalalabad. Mahmūd marched from Ghazni, encamped at Peshawar and then marched on Ohind.[133] Multan was also reached by its route, but it was a round about way to reach Multan from Ghazni.

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[126] F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 114.

[127] Cf. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 f.

[128] Cf. H. Yule and H. Cordier, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 f.

[129] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p, 198.

[130] *ibid.*, pp. 205 f. The places Mandhukur, Jajjnir and Adittahaur are not yet identified due to the lack of evidence.

[131] 'Utbī, *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, Extract trans. by S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[132] *ibid.*, Gardīzī. pp. 22 ff. ; 'Utbī, pp. 37 ff.

[133] *ibid.*, p. 23.

A route connecting Loharin (Loh Koṭ or Lohar Kot) with Lahore also seems to have existed.[134]

From Ohind there were ways to the hills of Kashmir, where Ānandapāla and Trilochanapāla hide themselves when they were troubled by Mahmūd. These ways are recorded as being only accessible through narrow and troublesome Passes.[135]

CITIES AND OTHER IMPORTANT PLACES

The cities and places of religious or martial importance recorded as belonging to the kingdom of the Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab are as follows :[136]

Ku-lu-sa-pang

It was a town on the Northern boundary of Kapiśa, situated about one *yojana* North-East of Kāpiśī.[137] T. Watters proposes the original of the above Chienese rendering as Gulsafan (?).[138]

Sakāvanta

The city is described in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* as situated at the foot of a mountain and possessing a strong fortress.[139] This fortress is recorded in the Logar valley by the Muslim writers.[140] In the *Tārikh-i-Sīstān* its situation is given on the divide between the Logar and the Zurmat valleys close to the

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[134] *ibid.*, p. 29.

[135] *ibid.*, pp. 42 and 51.

[136] The cities lying outside the kingdom of the Turki Shāhis referred to in the contemporary or later but related accounts are discussed here only if their existence in the times of the Hindu Shāhis, whose kingdom embraced those places, is proved from some sort of literature either contemporary to the Hindu Shāhis or later in date but related with them.

[137] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 269. A. Cunningham identified it with modern Begram (*op. cit.*, p. 17). However, Begram is the site of ancient Kāpiśī.

[138] *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 269.

[139] V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 111, no. 21.

[140] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 347, no. 21.

Attimur Pass.[141] Sakāvanta was famous for its temple of the goddess Sukhavatī.[142]

Kāpiśi

The capital city of the country of Kapiśa was named Kāpiśī in ancient times.[143] Hiuen Tsang does not mention the name of the capital of the country *Ka-pi-shih.* But it may well be suggested that the pilgrim called the country by the name of the capital city. Hence, *Ka-pi-shih* is the Chinese rendering of Kāpiśi. The extent of the city is recorded by Hiuen Tsang as less than 2 miles (10 li) in its circumference.[144] To the North-West of the city flowed a large river,[145] to be identified with the Panjshir. The ancient Kāpiśī is identified by A. Foucher with modern Begram.[146] According to him and also others, this city was the capital of the Shāhi kings up to about 792-93 A.D. when it was sacked by Ibrahim bin-Jabbal, the governor of Zabulistan.[147]

Śvetavatālaya

The city was a suberb of Kāpiśī as we know from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang.[148] The name of the city *Si-po-ti-fa-la-tzu* or Śvetavatālaya as suggested by T. Watters,[149] means shrine or abode of Indra. J.N. Banerjea identifies this city with the Indrapura of the *Mahāmyūrī* text.[150]

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[141] Ed. by Malik as-Shuara Bahar, Tehran, 1935 ; Cf. O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, London, 1958, p. 108.

[142] V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 347, no. 21.

[143] V.S. Agrawal, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 69.

[144] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 122.

[145] *ibid.*, p. 128.

[146] *A Volume of Indian Studies* presented to Prof. E. J. Rapson, London, 1931, pp. 341 ff. A. Cunningham identified the city with Opian (*op. cit.*, p. 18).

[147] A. Foucher, *La vielle Route de' Inde Bactres a Texila*, Paris, 1942 pp. 235 ff. ; Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, Patna, 1953, p. 193.: A. A. Kohzad, *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, Vol. II, Kabul, 1946, pp. 551 f. : G. Singh, *PPHC*, First Session, Patiala, 1965. pp. 69 f. Also *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appendix C.

[148] T. Watters, *op. cit.* p. 126.

[149] *loc. cit.*

Parvān

The name of the city is recorded as Barvan in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam.* It was a pleasant town and a resort of merchants. It was considered the gate of India.[151] Alberūnī informs us that its situation was on the confluence of the Panjshir and Ghorvand rivers.[152] Parvān is still shown on the maps to the North-East of Charikar.[153]

Kābul

This city is mentioned by Alberūnī as the capital of the Turki Shāhis who were succeeded by the Hindu Shāhis in this very city.[154] A. Foucher and also others have concluded that Kabul would have become the capital seat of the Shāhis in about 793 A.D.[155] Balādhurī, giving the descriptions of the Arab attacks, specifically noted the name of the capital city.[156] The author of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* mentions the fortress of the city which was known for its strength. He places the city in Khorasan.[157] Istakhri has mentioned it as being in Bamiyan.[158] There seems no reference of this city in Indian literature though the antiquity of the city is proved by its mention in the

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[150] *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 148; Cf. also P. Banerjee and R. C. Agrawala, *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, Madras, 1971, p. 224.

[151] V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 112. no. 23.

[152] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259.

[153] V. Minorsky proposes a possibility of another Parvān in the upper Logar valley between Ghazni and Bamiyan (*op. cit.*, p. 348, no. 23).

[154] E.C. Sachau, *op, cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 10, ff.

[155] A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff.; Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 193; A. A. Kohzad, *op. cit.*, pp. 551 f.; G. Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f.

[156] *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, trans. by F. C. Murgotten, *The origin of the Islamic State*, Part II, New York, 1924, pp. 146. ff. Cf. also *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appendix C.

[157] V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 111, no. 20.

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154. E.C. Sachau, *op, cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 10, ff.

155. A. Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff.; Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 193; A. A. Kohzad, *op. cit.*, pp. 551 f.; G. Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f.

156. *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, trans. by F. C. Murgotten, *The origin of the Islamic State*, Part II, New York, 1924, pp. 146. ff. Cf. also *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appendix C.

157. V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 111, no. 20.

158. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 346, no. 20.

accounts of the early Greek writers by the name Kabur and also Ortospana.[159] According to H. H. Wilson, with a slight change to Orthostāna, the name of the place may be taken to correspond a Sanskrit word Urdhasthāna, meaning high place, in allusion to the elevated plane on which Kabul is situated.[160] A. Cunningham identified this Urdhasthāna with the place called *Fo-li-shi-sa-tang-na*[161] by Hiuen Tsang.[162]

Saul

This was a village on a mountain inhabited by Afghans.[163] According to A. Cunningham the Afghans are mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as *O-po-kien* a Chinese rendering of Sanskrit word Avagāna or Avaghāna,[164] also mentioned in the Purāṇas,[165] placed between Varaṇa and Ghazni. According to Cunningham it formed a part of Varaṇa.[166] Firishta informs us that the Afghans inhabited the mountainous land near Kirman,[167] i.e. the valley of the Kurram river.[168] In this way it seems possible to identify the settlement of Afghans mentioned by Hiuen Tsang with Saul.

Asifān

This Muslim settlement is referred to by Balādhurī. The location is described as equidistant from Kabul, Multan and

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[159] Cf. McCrindle's *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, ed. by S.M. Sastri, Calcutta, 1927, p. 311 ; *The Classical Accounts of India*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 29, 285,

[160] *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, p. 176. According to local legends as recorded in the Sanskrit books, as stated by the Brahmins of Shewan the ancient name of Kabul (Kaboul) was Chichapalapour (Cf. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 147, f.n. 25).

[161] *op. cit.*, pp. 29 f.

[162] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 266,

[163] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 91, no. 48.

[164] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[165] *SGAMI*, p. 26.

[166] *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[167] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 7. The presence of Afghans near Kirman is concluded from the fact that they fought with ihe Indians between Kirman and Peshawar.

[168] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

Kashmir.[169] S. S. Nadvi proposes to identify it with modern Sehwan,[170] which is no more than a mere conjecture. I. H. Qureshi, rightly criticises Nadvi's conjecture, as the modern town Sehwan, situated South of Multan, does not fulfil the location indicated by Balādhurī.[171]

Druta

Alberūnī records this fortress as situated at the confluence of the rivers Sharvata and Sawā joining Ghorvand (Kabul).[172]

Lampā (ka) : Lamghan

The Lampā (*Lan-po*) of Hiuen Tsang was the name of a region. The capital city of the region described by him would have borne the same name. The capital city was about 2 miles (more than 10 li) in circuit.[173] The ancient name Lampāka is in its contracted form as Lampā. Alberūnī has named the town as Lambagā,[174] a form derived from original Lampāka. Lamghan of the Muslim writers may have been derived from Lampākān or Lambakapālān of Sanskrit. This city, situated on the middle course of the river Kabul, was an emporium of Hindustan.[175] The city is also referred to as Lamghanata, i.e. the two Lamghans on the either side of the Kabul river.[176]

Dūnpur

The town was situated opposite to the city of Lamghan on the river Kabul. It was a residence of merchants from all Khorasan.[177]

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[169] F.C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

[170] *Bhārat aur Arab ke Sambandha*, Prayāga, 1930, p. 318.

[171] *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 'S-Graven Hage, 1962, p. 58.

[172] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259.

[173] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 180 f.

[174] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259.

[175] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 91, no. 54.

[176] Cf. The note of Muhammad Habib, S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 66. f.n. 1.

[177] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 91, no. 55.

Nagara

Hiuen Tsang's *Na-ki-lo-ho* (Nagara)[178] is identified with modern Jalalabad.[179] The pilgrim has not given the name of the city but it is quite clear that the region was named after the city. It was about 3 miles (20 li) in its extent.[180] The city was called Ninhār in the 10th century.[181] The Indian name of the city was Nagara, as well as Nagarahāra with its several variations.[182] According to T. Watters it may be identified with the Nagarkot[183] mentioned by Alberūnī, where the annals of the Shāhi kings were preserved.[184].

Nimal

M. Habib records that according to some (perhaps local) tradition Jayapāla fought with Sabuktigin near this place.[185] Nimal is near Lamghan.

Po-lu-sha

Hiuen Tsang mentions this city situated South-East of Pushkalāvatī (modern Charsadda).[186] The Sanskrit rendering of *Po-lu-sha* is suggested to be Parusha[187] or Varusha[188] and is identified by A. Cunningham with modern Palodheri or Pali village.[189]

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[178] T. Watters, *op, cit.*, Vol, I, p. 182.

[179] A. Cunningbam, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[180] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 182.

[181] *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 91, no. 50.

[182] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 18 f.

[183] *op. cit.*, Vol, I, pp. 187

[184] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 11.

[185] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 66, f.n. 2.

[186] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 217.

[187] *loc. cit.*

[188] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[189] *loc. cit.*

Pushkalāvatī

Hiuen Tsang mentions this city by the name *Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti.* It was about 17 miles (100 li) North-West of Peshawar.[192] Pushkalāvatī is identified with modern Charsadda.[191]

Purushapura : Parshāwar

Hiuen Tsang mentions the capital of Gandhāra as Purushapura (*Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo*).[192] It was about 7 miles (40 li) in circuit. In the 10th and 11th centuries the city was called Purshāwar or Parshāwar,[193] a derivation from the earlier name, which was changed to Peshawar in later days.[194] The city mentioned by the name Qandahār in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[195] may be identified with Parshāwar. This city is once referred to as the capital of Jayapāladeva.[196]

Udabhāṇdapura

The city *Wu-to-ka-han-t'u* (or *cha*) mentioned by Hiuen Tsang[197] is rendered in Sanskrit as Udaka-Khāṇḍa it was bordered by the river Indus on the south.[198] It was a second capital of the king of Kapiśa in the 7th century A.D.[199] Kalhaṇa mentions the city as a prosperous and well-established capital of the Shāhi kings.[200] Yādavaprakāśa has wrongly recorded the name of the city as Dihaṇḍa.[201] Most of the

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190. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 214.
191. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
192. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 144.
193. As referred to by Masūdī and Alberūnī, (Cf. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ; E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 206).
194. This name was given by Akbar with an altogether new meaning 'the frontier city', and has nothing to do with its former names.
195. V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, p. 88, no. 17.
196. *Ādābul Mulūk wa Kifāyat-ul Mamlūk* of Muhammad bin-Manṣūr, Cf. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 492 ; also *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appendix C.
197. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 221 and 223.
198. *lot. cit.* According to M.A. Stein the correct original should be Udakhāṇḍa, a corrupt form of Udakabhāṇḍa (*Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol II, p. 338.)
199. S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
200. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. by M.A. Stein Bombay, 1892, V. 153, 232; VII. 1081 ; Cf. also *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appenix C.
201. Cf. D.C. Sircar, *SGAMI*, pp, 231 ff.

Muslim writers name the city Waihand, with several variations. Alberūnī describes the city as the capital of Gandhāra, situated to the West of the Indus and above its junction with the Kabul river.[202] The city is identified with modern Und or Hund.[203]

Śālātura

This was the birth place of Pāṇini. Hiuen Tsang records its situation North-West of Udabhāṇḍapura.[204] The place is identified with modern Lahor.[205] O. Caroe considers this Lahor as the site of the capital city of the Hindu Shāhis when they shifted from Kābul.[206]

Bitur

This fortress is recorded by Alberūnī on the confluence of the rivers Kabul and Indus.[207]

Mūlasthāna

The Muslim chroniclers have recorded the city now called Multan, which was famous for its Sun temple.[208] The city was so named on account of the idol itself.[209] It was a large town.[210] According to Firishta the city was once under the sway of Jayapāla.[211] Alberūnī records the various ancient names of this city given by Utpala, the commentator of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, as follows : the city was originally known as Kaśyapapura, and then Haṁsapura, then Bagapura, afterwards as Sāmbhapura and ultimately as Mūlasthāna.[212] Prahlādapura and Ādyasthāna were also ancient names af the city of Multan [213] The descriptions given by Balādhurī and Idrisi have led A. Cunningham to conclude that some branch of the river Ravi must have flowed down to Multan.[214] But the river referred to is better identified with the course of Chandrabhāgā as suggested by R.K. Chaubey.[215]

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[202] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 206, 259.

[203] M.A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 337; also A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff. These scholars have convincingly shown the gradual change of the original name to its modern one. However, T. Watters thinks that the city mentioned by Hiuen Tsang should not be taken to be Waihand of later times (*op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 223).

[204] *ibid.*, p. 221.

[205] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 49,

[206] *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f. also 108. S.Q. Fatimi (*JASP*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1963, pp. 39 ff.) and K.A. Rashid (*ibid.*, No. 2, pp. 31 f.) have considered this village as an important post which was attacked by the Arabs in 664-5 A.D. However, the view may not be agreed with for various reasons (Cf. *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appendix C.).

[207] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259.

[208] Cf. R.K. Chaubey, *op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

[209] *ibid.*, p. 153. Mūla=Sun.

[210] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 89, no. 32.

Lauhāwur : Lahore

The modern name Lahore seems to have been in use since 10th century A.D.[216] According to Firishta it was the capital of Jayapāla.[217] Alberūnī mentions the city[218] by name Lauhāwur[219] and Balādhurī calls Al-Ahwar,[220] Alberūnī seems to refer the city also by name Lohāvar.[221] The Sanskrit name of the city may be proposed to be Lauhapura from which all the forms mentioned above have been derived. In tradition the city is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rāma.[222]

Bhatih : Bhātiah

Muslim historians have noticed this city as being under a feudatory of Ānandapāla whose name was Vijaya Rāya. It

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[211] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[212] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 302.

[213] Cf. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[214] *ibid.*, p. 202,

[215] *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[216] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 89, no. 36.

[217] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Cf. also *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appendix C.

[218] According to C.V. Vaidya the city is wrongly recorded as country in Alberūnī's translation (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 17).

[219] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 206 ; Lauhāwar on p. 208.

[220] F.C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[221] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 8.

[222] Cf. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

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Bhatih : Bhātiah

Muslim historians have noticed this city as being under a feudatory of Ānandapāla whose name was Vijaya Rāya. It is identified with the present principality of Bhera in the Salt Range situated on the left bank of Jhelum. 'Utbī describes the city as having a wall whose height could be reached only by eagles.[223]

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[211] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[212] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 302.

[213] Cf. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[214] *ibid.*, p. 202,

[215] *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[216] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 89, no. 36.

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[221] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 8.

[222] Cf. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

Nardin

This was the battlefield where Trilochanapāla fought with Mahmūd.[224] It is identified with Nandan in Pind Dadan Khan Tehsil of Jhelum district, 14 miles west of Choa Saidan Shah, situated in a remarkable dip of the outer Salt Range.[225]

Jhelum

The city is still known by this name. Alberūnī mentions that the river Vitastā got its name Jhelum after this city.[226]

Bhīma Nagara

According to 'Utbī this was a great fortress.[227] Gardīzī records the fort as connected with the famous epic hero Bhīma Pāṇḍo (Pāṇḍava).[228] C.V. Vaidya believes that the name of the fort should be connected with the Shāhi king Bhīmadeva.[229] The city is identified with modern Nagarkot in the Kangra valley. The epithet of Bhīmadeva, mentioned in the Dewai stone inscription, as *gadāhasta*,[230] throws ample light to explain the association of the fort with the Pāṇḍava hero of the same name. However, Bhīmadeva's sway over Kangra region is well inferred from the Khajuraho inscription of the Chandela king Yaśovarman.[231]

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[223] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ; S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f.

[224] *ibid.*, p. 49. Cf. also *Infra*, Chapter IV, Appendix C.

[225] *ibid.*, p. 67, f. n. 16.

[226] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259.

[227] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f.

[228] *ibid.*, p. 24.

[229] *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[230] For inscription, Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, Appendix, Inscription No. 1. 2.

[231] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 120 ff.

Sodra

The town was situated on the left bank of the river Chenab,[232] and is identified with modern Wazirabad, about 50 miles North of Lahore.

Biruza

The city was situated on the river Sutlej.[233]

Jalavvat

It was situated North-East of Multan near the river Sutlej.[234]

Balavvat

This settlement was also to the North-East of Multan near by the river Sutlej, and was probably farther than Jalavvat.[235]

Bathinda

This city is recorded by the Muslim historians as the capital city of king Jayapāla.[236] V.A. Smith identified the city with modern Bhatinda on the authority of H.G. Raverty.[237] C.V. Vaidya has dealt in detail with this wrong identification, and has shown how Raverty utilised a late Persian source connected with the Rajas of Jammu, to justify the name of Jayapāla's capital city as Bathinda which in the manuscript was Wamand, a mistaken spelling of the celebrated city Waihand.[238] The later chroniclers have transcribed the name wrongly.[239]

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[232] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[233] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 72.

[234] *loc. cit.*

[235] *loc. cit.*

[236] Firishta, J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 38. The city is also referred to by 'Utbī, Gardīzī, Minhāj ud-Dīn and Nizām ud-Dīn etc.

[237] *op. cit.*, p. 396. This Jayapāla is considered to be other than the Shāhi king of Udabhāṇḍapura.

[238] *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 16 f.

[239] Cf. S. R. Sharma, *op. cit*, p. 32, f. n. 4.

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डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मा
पुस्तकालय

Vajīrasthāṇa

A place referred to in the Barikot inscription of Jayapāladeva.[240] It is hard to propose any connection of the place mentioned in the inscription with the hill place near Barikot in upper Swat region from where it is recovered.

Sites of Archaeological Finds

The sites from where archaeological materials of the times of the Shāhis are noticed must have been of importance in those days. The temples attributable to the Hindu Shāhi kings are found at Kalar, Malot, Bilot, Amb and Kafir Kot.[241] The art objects are recorded from Attock, Peshawar and Smats cave near Khyber Pass.[242] The Hindu Shāhi inscriptions and a MS are noticed from Dewai, Barikot, Ranighat, Hund and Bhakhshālī.[243]

RAINFALL AND CLIMATE

Alberūnī refers to the *varshākāla*, the tropical rains in summer. He notices heavy rains in the Northern province of India. The region of Multan is recorded as having no rainy season but the Northern region, which formed the kingdom of the Shāhis, is noticed as having the rains. The eastern part of the kingdom, i.e. the Kangra valley, is recorded by him as having a rainy season of four months beginning with the month of Āshāḍha (June-July).[244]

At present parts of Punjab have a rainfall of about 15-25 inches and the mountainous regions of the North-West also record the same. The valleys of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu record about 10-15 inches rainfall.[245]

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[240] Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, Appedix, Inscription No. 2, text line 2.

[241] Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Section 'Material Remains'.

[242] *ibid.*, 'Plastic Art'.

[243] Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, Appendix.

[244] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 211. The name Bhātal seems to have occurred wrongly for the mountain Bhātul and the region about it.

[245] Cf. O. H. K. Spate, *op. cit.*, pp. 434 ff.

The North-Western regions show a climate tending to extremes of temperature and they are dry in general. The higher region of Kabul faces very cold winters and hot summers, snow falls in January and Febuary followed by rains in March and April.[246] The rest of the area has a warm climate. Hiuen Tsang has recorded the climate of North-Western India as cold and windy and that of Punjab warm.[247]

PRODUCTS

According to Hiuen Tsang, the land under study produced luxuriant crops of various cereals, fruits, flowers and timber. The production of rice, wheat and sugar-cane is mentioned specifically.[248] The pilgrim also mentions the saffron and excellent horses of Kapiśa.[249] Rājaśekhara has mentioned the horses from Uttarāpatha,[250] but not specifically from Kapiśa. The famous wine of Kapiśa, known as Kāpiśāyana in the times of Pāṇini,[251] seems to have been even more popular in the Early Mediaval period, as it becomes a synonym for wine.[252] The *drākshā* of Uttarāpatha referred to by Rājaśekhara[253] may well be taken to connote the same Kāpiśāyana. With the reference to *drākshā* the production of graps is attested. Balādhurī mentions the myrobalan fruits of Kabul which were very much liked by Caliph Al-Manūn.[254]

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[246] Cf. L. D. Stamp, *op. cit*, p. 181.

[247] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 123 ff.

[248] *ibid.*, pp. 122, 181, 183, 199, 286 and 298.

[249] *ibid.*, p. 122.

[250] *Kāvyamīmāsṁā*, p. 94.

[251] V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 69 and 118.

[252] *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha (*Hūlayudhakośa*), ed. by Jayaśaṅkara Jośī, Varanasi, Śaka 1879, II. 174.

[253] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 94.

[254] F. C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, also 155.

The land is recorded rich in gold, silver and copper. Iron and bell-metal are also recorded in Takka and Kulūta regions.[255]

The use of the clothes prepared from wool, skin, silk, and cotton[256] may lead us to presume that much of it was produced in the country. Cotton, wool and the karakul skin of Afghanistan are important exports of the country even nowadays. The Swat valley is famous for its blankets since ancient times. Silk may be taken as an import from China.

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255. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. pp. 123, 286, and 298. The richness of precious metals is also evidended from the tribute levied from the king of Kabul and Ratbil or Zanbil by the Arab generals and also from the booty collected by the Ghaznavid kings. Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VII, 'Economic Condition'.

256. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 181, 286.

CHAPTER II

SHĀHI : THE TITLE OF KINGS

Alberūnī, who visited India not very long after the extinction of the Shāhi dynasty, notices that the title of the kings of Kabul was *Shāhiya*, which was used by the Turki kings and later on by the Hindu kings of the Brāhmaṇa clan also.[1] Like the Hindu kings, in the use of this title, it is not improbable that the Turki kings also followed some existing tradition. The Turki kings have been taken to be the Kushāṇas.[2] But it is not improbable that the Hūṇa kings would have been considered as Turki kings[3] whose original home Tibet is known as Hūṇadeśā and the founder king had the 'Tegin' ending name which is the title or name of the first Hūṇa king whom the Ye-thas or Hephthalites appointed in Gandhāra.[4] The Hūṇas had the title Shāhi,[5] which slightly

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[1] Alberūnī gives the title of the Turki kings as *'Shāhiya of Kābul'* (*Kitāb ul-Hind*, trans. by E.C. Sachau, *AI*, Vol. II, p. 10) and calls the dynasty of the Brāhmaṇa minister as *'Hindu Shāhiya dynasty'* (*ibid.*, p. 13). These notices by Alberūnī, clearly show that *Shāhiya* (an adjectival derivative of Shāhi) was the kingly title.

[2] H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ed. by J. Dowson, Vol. II, Allahabad reprint, pp. 407 ff. ; M.A. Stein, *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth. Zum Doctor-Jubileaum*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 198 ff.

[3] H.M. Elliot regarded the generic name Turk as used for the Śakas, Turushkas, Kushāṇas, Durāris or Kators (*op. cit.*, p. 409). It seems that the word in the Early Mediaeval period was vaguely used, and stands for foreigners, like other words such as Yavana or Mlechchha. Turk was a common name employed for Central Asian tribes by the Hindus. (Cf. K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. II, 1932, p. 205). From the Chinese sources it is inferred that the word Turk was certainly used for the Hūṇa tribe from the 5th century A.D. (Cf. U. Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India*, Varanasi, 1967, p. 34).

[4] *Infra*, pp. 55 ff.

[5] 'Kura Stone Inscription of the Time of Toramāṇa Shāhi', text line 1 and 10 (D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 422, 424). In the text line 1 the word is restored as *Shā* (*hi*) and in the text line 10 it is *Shāha*. Buhler was not decisive to take any one form as the title of Toramāṇa (*EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 239). In our opinion the word in the text line 10 should also be restored as *Shāh*—(*i*), the omission of the i being a mistake on the part of engraver of

(*Contd. on pagg 46*)

differs from Alberūnī's Shāhiya which is an adjectival derivative of Shāhi. Some Hindu kings used the title Shāhi in the same manner in which it was used by the Hūṇa kings.[6]

The title Shāhi, came into use for the first time by the Kushāṇas in their inscriptions found in India.[7]

A. Cunningham suggests that 'Shāshi' was the Indian form of the title 'Shao' used by the Kushāṇas on their coins.[8]

(*Contd. from page* 45)

the inscription. The restoration is suggested on the basis of the use of this form by the Kushāṇas and on the Hūṇa coins also. Regarding the Shāhi title for Mihirakula we have no evidence. But his 'Uruzgan Inscription' proves that he bore the title somewhat like the Scytho-Persian form of Kshāyatiya (=Shao) being *Ssaho* (*JRAS*, 1954, pp. 112 ff.). The title shāhi is also used by Khingāla ('Kabul Inscription of Shāhi Khiṅgāla', text line 2, *EI*, Vol. XXXV, pt. I, 1963-64, p. 47) and Gomo (Tochi Valley Inscription No. B, Bactrian text line 1., *AP*, Vol. I, 1964, p. 132) who may be taken to belong to the Hūṇa stock (Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, f.ns. 11, 12 ; 61, 70). For the use of title Shāshi on the Hūṇa coins (Cf. *NC*, third series, Vol. XIV, 1894, pp. 276 ff., pl. VII, Coin nos. 2,3,8-11, 14, 15 ; pl. VIII, coin nos. 5,8-13, 15, 16 ; pl. IX, coin nos. 5,9-11, 14, 15, 18, 20, 23 ; pl. X, coin no. 9).

6. *Rājādhirāja mahārāja Toramāṇa Shā (hi)..........* (D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 422), *Parama bhaṭāraka mahārājādhirāja parameśvara Śāhi Śrī Bhīmade(va)*, Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, Appendix Inscription no. 1, text line 4.

7. Vasishka used this Indian form for the first time (*Mahārājarājatirāja devaputra shāhi*, 'Sanchi Bodhisatva Inscription of the year 28 of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Shahi Vasishka', text line 1, *EI*, Vol. II, p. 369), if he is taken to be the successor of Kanishka I, otherwise credit will go to Huvishka (*Devaputra shāhi Huvishka*, 'Mathura Brahmi Inscription of the year 28', text line 9-10, *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, p. 61). Vāsudeva is the other king using this title (*Mahārāja rājatirāja devaputra shāhi Vāsudeva*, 'Mathura Jain Image Inscription of the year 84', text line 1, J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archeological Museum of Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910, No. B4, p. 67; *Mahārāja rājatirāja shāhi Vāsudeva* 'Mathura Jain Image Inscription of the year 87 of the Time of Maharaja shahi Vasudeva', text line 1, *IA*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 103). Shāhi title is also used by probably a Kushāṇa chief (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, ed. by S. Konow, pt. I, Varanasi, 1969 reprint, p. 17, text line 1). King Vema, tentatively identified with Vema Kadphises also uses this title (*Mahārāja rājatirājo devaputro Kushāṇaputro shāshi Vematakshamasya*, V.S. Agrawala, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, pt. III, Varanasi, 1963, p. 41, text lines 1 and 2). The Chines form of 'Shāhi' is recorded as *Hsieh* (Cf. J M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushāṇas*, University of California, 1967, p. 144).

8. *NC*, third series, Vol. XII, 1892, p. 55. The pronounciation of PAO supposed to be as *Rao*, but the Chinese form of the title *Shao-wu* seems to conform the native pronounciation of *Shao* (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 54 f.)

The title Shao is used by the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I on his copper coins of Class II.[9] His gold coins of Class II present his title as *Shaonano Shao*. The Class I of his copper and gold coins show the use of the title *Basileos Basileon*.[11] The former two titles are found on more of the coin types in comparison to the coin types with the latter title, showing its comparatively more importance and use. The title *Shaonano Shao* is invariably used by the successors of Kanishka I and the Sassanian kings.[12] The use of two types of titles by Kanishka I shows that they would have served two purposes. The former title was undoubtedly used for the Greeks and Parthians and the latter for the Persians and Scythians. The title *Shaonano Shao* is taken by J. N. Banerjea and Jagannath[13] to be a Kushāṇa adaptation of the Parrhian title *Basileos Basileon*, in itself old Persian *Kshāyatiyānām Kshāyatiya*[14] in Greek garb. The statement seems to be based on the view of E. J. Rapson who wrote while dealing with the history of Parthians that the style of the title 'Great king of kings' is distinctively Persian, having a history from Darius I to present day.[15] However, *Shaonano Shao* seems not to be the Kushāṇa adaptation of the Parthian title *Basileos Basileon*. The statement of Banerjea and Jagannath may well be modified that the title *Shaonano Shao* is a Scythic adaptation of the old Persian title *Kshāyatiyānām Kshāyatiya*. The titles *Basileos Basileon* and *Shaonano Shao*, though similar in their styles are the adaptations by two different peoples who translated the old Persian title in their languages. The affiliation of the title *Shaonano Shao* with the Kushāṇas is also evidenced by the imitation of the Kushāṇa coinage by the Sassanian kings, who not only borrowed the motif of the King and the fire-altar, but took the Kushāṇa title *Shaonano Shao*[16] also. From the old Persian title this Kushāṇa title was derived in the Khotanese Śaka language.[17] The adaptation of the Persian title must have been due to political reasons, and probably it served the purpose of the Scythians who were in close touch with the Persians.[18]

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[9] B. Chattopaddhyaya, *The Age of the Kushāṇas—A Numismatic Study*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 65. The title was also used for the gods (*ibid.*, pp. 61, 77, Nanashao and Shaoshero).

[10] *ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.

[11] *ibid.*, pp, 58 f. and 64,

[12] *ibid.*, pp. 72 ff. (Huvishka), 93 ff. (Vāsudeva I), 98 (Kanishka II I and Vāsudeva II), 108 ff. (Hormīzd, Shapur and Varahrān).

[13] *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, ed. by K. A. N. Sastri, Calcutta, 1957, p. 241.

[14] 'Inscriptions of Darius', D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 f., 6, 8 f., 11.

[15] *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, ed. by E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922, p. 567. The similarity in the titles has also been noticed by R. D. Wilson ('Titles of the Persian Kings' in *Festchrift E. Sachau*, 1951, pp. 179-207, quoted by R. A. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1963, p. 148).

From the times of the Kidāra Kushāṇas the title *Shao* or *Shaonano Shao* was abandoned. They used only the Indian form *Shāhi*.[19] The Hūṇas also followed them.[20]

The Hindu kings of Udabhāṇḍa in their records and coin legends used the title as Śāhi and Shāhi respectively.[21]

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[16] B. Chattopaddhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

[17] According to Sten Konow the language is Khotanese Śaka (*op. cit.*, p. xxvii). R. D. Wilson also takes the language as Scythic (Śaka) (*op. cit.*, pp. 179 ff.). However, W. B. Henning considers the language a Middle Iranian and names it Bactrian (*BSOAS*, Vol. XXIII, 1960, pp. 47 and 50).

[18] The probabilities that the title was used to serve the purpose of the Persians, and the Kushāṇas were not able to pronounce or write correctly the Persian title, though being other alternative, seems not to be plausible.

[19] B. Chattopaddhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 117. This form was known to the contemporary Indians also as evidenced from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (...*Daivaputra shāhi shāhānushāhi*, D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 266, text line 23), having its continuation up to the Mediaeval times (Cf. *Kālakāchārya Kathānaka*, ed. by H. Jacoby, *ZDMG*. Vol. 34, 1880, pp. 247 ff. quoted and summary referred to by S. Konow; *op. cit.*, p. xxvii) to refer to the Śakas to which race the Kushāṇas belonged (*ibid.*, pp. 30-33).

[20] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 45 f.

[21] For Śāhi in epigraphic records, Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, Appendix, Inscription No. 1, text line 4. In other records it is Sāhi, Cf. *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 129, verse 43. This latter form of the title is also recorded by Jinasena while commenting on the verse 2860 of *Niśītha Sūtram* of Visāhagani (ed. by Amara Muni, pt. 3, Agra, 1958, p. 59). For the second form in coin legend, Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, Section 'Coins of Bhīmadeva' ; also Appendix D.

Kalhaṇa many times refers to this dynasty as Śāhi.[22]

Thus the title under consideration being originally *Kshāyatiya* of the Persians, meaning 'the king', came to India through non-Indian kings. As we have mentioned above, this title was used in a traditional way by the Hūṇas among whom it denoted a designation and it was not only a word for 'the king'. In the same way the Hindu kings of Kabul and Udabhāṇḍapura also used this title. With the fame of these Hindu kings the title became so distinguished that it became not only the dynastic name[23] but also the name of the ruling Kshatriya subclan.[24]

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22. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 143 ; V. 155 ; VI. 177-8, 230 ; VII. 47, 49-50, 54-55, 57-58, 66, 68, 103, 144, 178. 274, 913, 956, 1470, 1550, 1571 ; VIII. 227, 3230.
23. E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13 ; *Rājataraṇgiṇī*, VII. 274, 956.
24. *Ibid.*, VIII. 3230.

CHAPTER III

THE TURKI SHĀHIS

Alberūnī categorises the Shāhi rulers of Kabul in two groups, the first being those kings of Hindus who were Turks and were said to be of Tibetan origin,[1] and the second who were descendants of a Brāhmaṇa minister.[2] The other authority who refers the Shāhi rulers is Kalhaṇa, but, unlike Alberūnī, no distinction is made by him between the early and later Shāhis. In the times of Kalhaṇa the Shāhis (Śāhis) were regarded as Kshatriyas.[3] What seems to be a reference to the early Shāhis by Kalhaṇa is of the time of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (724-60 A.D.) when it is stated that the Shāhi chiefs (*Śāhimukhyas*) were employed in the Kashmir administration.[4]

ORIGINAL STOCK

D. C. Sircar takes the Shāhi chiefs, referred to by Kalhaṇa as belonging to the family of the Kshatriya ruler of Kapiśa,[5] mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[6] The place of residence or a secondary capital of this king was Udadhāṇḍapura or Udakabhāṇḍapura (*Wu-to-Kia-Lan-cha*). On the evidence that the Shāhis of the 12th century A.D. were Kshatriyas it is, however, uncritical to conclude that the Shāhi chiefs of century A. D. were also Kshatriyas, and to relate them with the Kshatriya king of Kapiśa of the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit.[7] M. A. Stein took these Shāhi officials to be the Turki Shāhis.[8] In fact, we may only take it that the Indian authority is silent regarding the early Shāhi rulers.

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[1] *Kitāb ul-Hind*, trans. by E.C. Sachau, *AI*, Vol. II, p. 10. Some scholars have wrongly taken the early Shāhis of Kabul as belonging to a Hindu dynasty (D.C. Sircar, *SGAMI*, pp. 233, 234).

[2] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. by M.A. Stein, Bombay, 1892, VIII. 3230. *Adyāpi dyotate sāhevāhvayena digantare, Tatsantāna bhavonantaḥ samūhaḥ kshatrajanmanām.*

[4] *ibid*, IV. 140-43.

[5] D.C. Sircar, *op, cit.*, p. 253.

[6] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Tranels in India*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. I, p. 221. C.V. Vaidya has favoured the information of Hiuen Tsang against Alberūnī that the former gives contemporary evidence whereas the latter writing after 400 years bases his statement on absurd tradition (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, Poona, 1921, p. 200).

The information of Alberūnī that the rulers of the region were Turks, is not the only one. The Chinese Traveller Ou-K'ong, who visited Gandhāra in the years 753-764 A.D., found the ruling family undoubtedly of Turkish origin.[9] The Annals of the Tang dynasty also refer to the Turkish kings of Gandhāra.[10] Wu-Sung, a Chinese traveller who was in Gandhāra in the last decade of she 8th century A.D. makes reference to the Turki princes of Kapiśa and Gandhāra, Kanishka being their ancestor.[11] The Indians also had the same tradition, where the Turks represent the Kushāṇas. The Turki kings of Gandhāra claiming Kanishka as their ancestor and the other members of his dynasty are mentioned as Turushkas, i.e. Turks by Kalhaṇa.[12] The Purāṇa writers also have some times become confused and have noted 'Turushkas' instead of 'Tushāras.'[13] The information regarding the dynasty gathered by Albeūnī from the Indians was not accurate and satisfactory,[14] Thus it was not improbable that 'the Turki kings' of Alberūnī represented the Kushāṇas[15] or Hūṇas ; who were by then known as Turks.

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[7] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 60 ff.

[8] M.A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. II, verses 140-43 note, pp 133-34.

[9] *JA*, 1895, pp, 377 ff.

[10] *loc. cit.*

[11] Cf. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, Patna, 1952, p. 193.

[12] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I. 70.

[13] F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 45, f.n. 20.

[14] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[15] Cf. H.M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ed. by J. Dowson, Allahabad reprint, Vol. II, pp. 407 ff.; M.A. Stein, *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth. Zum Doctor-Jubileaum*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp, 198 ff.

There is every probability that Alberūnī received wrong information about the Kabul kings. This probability is suggested by Alberūnī's condemnation of the historical knowledge of Indians and his curiosity to see the genealogy of the Turki kings of Kabul preserved in the fortress of Nagarakot.[16] Thus it is not improbable that the Indian people considered the Hūṇas as the Turks, which was a common name employed for the Central Asian tribes and vaguely used in the Early Mediaeval period for foreigners, just as the terms *Yavana* and *Mlechchha.*[17] The adoption of the title Shāhi from the Kushāṇas[18] seems to have misled the people to take the Hūṇas as Turks. The word Turk, according to the Chinese annals was certainly used for the Hūṇa tribes from the 5th century A.D.[19]

A. Cunningham, taking evidences from Ibu Khallikan,[20] that in the time of Yaqub Saffarid Kabul was held by Turks of the *Darārī*[21] tribe, and knowing of no tribe of this name suggests to read the name of the tribe as *Kidārī* and thus finds the Kidāra Kushāṇas ruling at Kabul.[22] H.M. Elliot seems to be more cortect in taking the word *Durārī* as connected with *Darrā*, a hill Pass.[23] It seems not unlikely that the name *Durārī* came to denote either the inhabitants of the Pass areas or the descendants of the authorities who were the masters of the Passes. At least one example of such a master of a Pass in the North-Western region. who was of some foreign origin, perhaps Hūṇa, is known to us from a Nalanda stone insoription.[24]

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[16] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 f.

[17] Cf. K.P. Jayaswal, *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, pt. II, 1932, p. 205 ; H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

[18] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 46 ff. This would also have been the reason why the Hūṇas were sometimes noticed as Kushāṇas (Elisaeus Vartabed in his *History of Armenia*, Chapter I, while referring to some events of the 5th century A.D. observes that the Hūnas were also known as the Kushāṇas, vide, V. Langlois, *Collection des historians anciens et modernes de l 'Armenie*, Paris, 1869, Vol. II, p. 186). Such confusion seems to have arisen mainly due to the fact that they ruled the Kushāṇa territory (Cf. B.N. Mukerjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy*, Culcutta, 1967, pp. 16 and 92 f.n. 1), and to which the use of the title Shāhi and its variants would have added more confusion.

[19] Cf. U. Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India*, Varanasi, 1967, p. 34.

[20] Cf. H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

[21] H.M. Elliot gives the reading as Durārī (loc. cit.).

[22] A. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 59.

[23] *op. cit.*, p. 413.

The original home of the Turki kings, as recorded by Alberūnī, was Tibet.[25] H. M. Elliot took them to be of Tartar race, the same as the people named Yue-chi who occupied the valley of the Indus and some of the neighbouring countries in the first year of the Christan era.[26] He has not given any comment regarding their supposed origin from Tibet, but he would probably have agreed with K. P. Jayaswal that the reference to Tibet as the original home of the Turki Shāhis shows that the Hindus knew them to have come from the other side of the Himalays, that is from Central Asia.[27] With this statement the identification of the Turki kings with the Kushāṇas finds more weight. But, as discussed above, the Turki kings seem to be the Hūṇas. The Hūṇas impart significance to the reference of Tibet. In certain legendary traditions Tibet is known as the country of the Hūṇas.[28] If there is any truth in the tradition referred to, it seems not improbable that Alberūnī would have indicated the Hūṇa kings. The names of the kings also favour the supposition as the first and the last rulers of the dynasty bear the Hūṇic names--Tegin and Toramāṇa.[29]

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[24] *EI*, Vol. XX, 1929-30, p. 41 ; also *Infra*, p. 56.

[25] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[26] *op. cit.*, pp. 409 f.

[27] *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[28] From the Garhwali lengend 'The Curse of Bhagwatī' we can note that the Hūṇadeśa was to the North-West of Rūpa Kuṇḍa in Garhwal, as the 'Yatī' who were allowed to go to Hūṇadeśa for the purpose of trade were sent by Bhagwatī to Tibet. It seems that the Hūṇadeśa comprised Tibet (Cf. 'Rupakunda in Oral Literature' by D.N. Majumdar, *EA*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 40 ff; also 'Rūpakuṇḍa Rahasya', *PMV*, No. 3, 1958, pp. 94 ff.)

[29] Cf, *Infra*, pp. 55 ff. and 65 ff.

While dealing with the history of the early Hūṇas scholars have paid no attention to the Hūṇas of Kabul, they have been either attracted by the Hūṇas in Bactria or Zabulistan.

Kabul seems to be the first and most important seat of the Hūṇas. The Hūṇa empire in 500 A.D. comprised Tokharistan, Kabulistan and Zabulistan.[30] It were these Hūṇas who launched an expedition against the Gupta power .[31] However, it is difficult to suggest how and when the H ūṇas of Kabul and Zabul became separately independen t. If we take Toramāṇa, whose rule starts in India in *circa* 510 A.D., to be the first ruler of Zabul, we may tentatively take the date of the separation of the Kabul and Zabul powers between 500-510 A.D., the time of the rise of Toramāṇa.[32]

BARHATAKĪN : THE FOUNDER OF THE DYNASTY[33]

Regarding the founder of the Turki dynasty the informations of Alberūnī have been taken by the scholars to be of the fictitious character and ignorable.[31] But we may indeed deduce some facts from the type of information gathered by Alberūnī because the tales are based on facts and reveal some faint traces of reliable information.

What we can deduce from Alberūnī's account regarding the foundation of the Turki Shāhi dynasty is that it arose suddenly through the activities of Barhatakīn.

Barhatakīn seems to have carved out a kingdom for himself. His early career seems to have been that of a common and poor man. He is said to have dwelt in a cave, providing for himself therein with food for some days.[35] . This clearly shows that in the early part of his career he had limited support. Barhatakīn and his supporters were always trying to improve their position, and ultimately Barhatakīn achieved kingly power.[36]

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[30] U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[31] U. Thakur takes the Hūṇas as belonging to Zabul (*ibid.*, pp. 76 f.).

[32] For the dates of Toramāṇa, see *ibid.*, pp. 94 ff.

[33] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 10. The name is also spelt as Barhtigin Cf. H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 10, also pp. 403 ff.

[34] H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, p. 63 and f. n. 2 ; K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[35] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

The sufix takīn (tegin) in the name of the first Turki Shāhi king is of much interest to us. 'Tegin' is a Turkish word meaning 'a prince of the blood' and is especially used as a title of the son or the brother of a Khān. The Chinese render it as *t'o-k'in*. It was one of the words first recognised by Thomsen in the 'Orkhon Inscriptions' and we find several instances of its use in E. Chavannes' *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux.*[37]

In the Indian context the title is used for the first Hūṇa ruler of Gandhāra, two generations after whom, in 520 A.D. the Chinese traveller Sung-Yun travelled in Gandhāra.[38] The second reference of this title is in the Nalanda stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva.[39] The person referred to in this inscription was the king of the North-Western Frontier Province holding the Passes in his sway.[40] who can be none other than a Hūṇa king. Tegin was also a name of later Hūṇa king of Punjab and Iran known from the Coins

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36. *loc. cit.*

37. Information given by Sten Konow to Hiranand Sastri, *EI*, Vol. XX, 1929-30, p. 41.

38. Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* , London, 1906, Vol. I, pp. lxxiv f.

39. *EI*, Vol. XX, 1929-30, p. 43, verse 3, text line 4, . . . *Pratītikinodīchīpatermantriṇaḥ*. The reference of the word in the 'Giridharapur Pillar Inscription' (JBORS, Vol. XVIII, pt. I, 1932, p. 6, text line 2) as. . . *Ayaṁ puṇy śālā prāchītikanasa rukamāna putreṇa* . . . . noted by K. P. Jayaswal has been corrected as . . . , *Ayaṁ puṇyaśālā prāchīni kanakarukamāṇa putreṇa*. . . . by Knor.cw (*EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, p. 60, text line 2).

40. Cf. H. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

and Chinese annals.[41] Another Tegin named king,[42] probably of the dynasty of the former,[43] is noticed in a 9th century inscription found from Tochi valley. The Turks who came later in India also took this title. It is to be noted that none of the Kushāṇa king used it.

Thus we suggest that the first Turki Shāhi king Barhatakīn was a Hūṇa. It is probable that he was the Tegin appoined by the Ye-thas after destroying the country of Gandhāra.[44] The story narrated by Alberūnī well suits the event recorded by Sung-Yun.

M. Reinaud conjectured that Barh or Barha probably answers to the word *phasahatassa* which Lassen and Wilson read on certain Greco-Barbarian coins and is the same name which the Greeks have converted into Praates and Phraoites.[45] The conjecture gives a far-fetched equation of the Greek word and the word under consideration. The opinion of K. P. Jayaswal seems more likely to be correct, that Barh is the Parthian pronunciation of 'Balkh', i.e. Bactria, and the name Barhtegin means 'the ruler of Bactria.'[46] Barh was a place name is evidenced from Alberūnī who notices the name of the cave as Var, where the first Turki Shāhi king lived.[47]

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[41] A. Cunningham, *NC.* third series, Vol. XIV, 1894, pp. 269 f., 291f; also H. Humback, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmaler*, I, Wiesbaden, 1966, pp. 19f.

[42] Read by H. Humbach, 'Cf. *Festgabe deutscher Iranisten zur 2500 Jahrfeier Irans.* Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Eilers, Stuttgart, Hochwacht Druck, 1971, pp. 74 ff., pt. II of the article 'Die Baktrische Ara der Tochi-Inschriften'.

[43] Cf. *Infra*, p. 61, f. n. 70.

[44] S. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxiv f.

[45] As quoted by H. M. Ellioit, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

[46] *op. cit.*, p. 225. D. C. Sircar takes Barhatakīn to mean 'Great Chief' (=Brihat Tegin) identifying him with Kadaphises I on the grounds that Barhatakīn used garments similar to those of Kushānas and that 'Kad' of Kadphises means chief (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. by R. C. Majumdar and others, Bombay, 1951, p. 149, f.n. 3), however, B. N. Mukherjee points out that such a dress was not peculiar to the Kushāṇas and other peoples of Central Asia also had similar costumes and the term Kadaphises may mean 'of honoured form' and so 'Kad' of Kadphises does not necessarily denote 'chief' (*op. cit.*, p. 120, f.n. 2).

[47] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

According to Alberūnī the dynasty founded by Barhatakīn survived for sixty generations.[48] H.M. Elliot, giving 14-16 years to each generation, came to a date about the beginning of the Christian era for the dynasty's foundation.[49] He has tried to connect the foundation date of the Turki Shāhi dynasty with the foundation of the Kushāṇa empire, as he identified the Turki Shāhis with the Kushāṇas. But as shown above, the dynasty could not have arisen before the advent of the Hūnas in the North-Western regions. Thus we must place Barhatakīn in the fourth quarter of the 5th century A.D. and are unable to make out the rooms for sixty generations. It seems that Alberūnī recorded a false tradition in this matter. He certainly received the information with doubt and was anxious to correct it after seeing the genealogy preserved in the fortress of Nagarakot which was unfortunately not made available to him.[50] The error of Alberūnī in mentioning a continuous reign of sixty generations must be ascribed, as suggested by M.A. Stein, to the 'continued use of the title Śāhi'[50] up to the time of the Musalmans. Thus it seems that the people who informed Alberūnī included all those dynasties the kings of which used the title Shāhi, and we are safer to say that those sixty generations included other dynasties of foreign kings, especially the Kushāṇas and Hūṇas, and in this way the foundation date of the dynasty of the Turki Shāhis is placed impossibly early taking sixty generations into consideration.

CONFLICT OF KABUL WITH STHANAVĪŚVARA

The Hūṇas of Kabul seem to have been politically less active than the Hūṇas of Zabul. The fights and the raids of the Hūṇas deep into the Indian territory are to be ascribed to the Hūṇas of Zabul. There are only few cases when the

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48. *loc. cit.*
49. *op. cit.*, pp. 409 f.
50. E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
51. *op. cit.*, p. 197.

Hūṇas of Kabul seem to have taken part in the politics of interior India. The Hūṇas who fought against the Maukhari king Īśānavarman[52] have not been assigned any territory. They may not be taken to belong Kabul. In the times of Prabhākaravardhana the Hūṇas are mentioned with Sindhu, Gurjaras and Gandhāra as dwelling in the North-Western region.[53] Hiuen Tsang informs that Gandhārá was subject to Kapiśa,[54] which includes the upper Kabul valley, and this suggests that the Hūṇas referred to did not belong to Kabul. But the Hūṇas with whom Rājyavardhana fought in the Uttarāpatha,[55] i.e. Gandhāra and Kashmir,[56] in 605-6A.D. seem to have belonged to Kabul. This was the time when the Gurjaras extended their sway up to Taxila[57] leaving only the Western part of Gandhāra and Kapiśa to the Hūṇas. That the Hūṇas of Zabul came in conflict with the Pushyabhūtis seems less probable, since their territory Zabulistan[58] lies South-West to the region of Gandhāra and has never been included in the Uttarāpatha.

RAIDS OF THE ARABS

From the middle of the 7th century A.D. Kabul came into a long conflict with the Arabs, who were already established in Sindh ; this strife lasted upto the middle of the 9th century A.D.[59] The account, which is well narrated by the Muhammadan writers, shows a certain Ratbil playing an important role in the struggles. Regarding the stauts of Ratbil H. C. Ray, who has treated the history of the struggle between the Arabs and Ratbil in detail, arrives at no definite conclusion. In one place Ratbil is taken as an independent ruler and the king of Kabul as subordinate to him[60] and later on the same Ratbil is said to belong to the family of the Turki Shāhi dynasty of Kabul.[61] The historian is also inclined to identify Ratbil with the Kshatriya king of Kapiśa[62] mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[63] The evidence of Hiuen Tsang leads D.C. Sircar to conclude that the Kshatriya king belonged to the Turki Shāhi dynasty.[64] It is difficult to agree with the conjecture proposed by Sircar because we have not a single other piece of evidence that the foreigners were included in the Indian *varṇa-vyavasthā* so early in time. The mention of the early Shāhis of Kabul as Turkis by Alberūnī in the 11th century A.D., information which he gathered from the local people, also goes against the proposed view.

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[52] 'Afsad Inscription of Ādityasena' verse 8, J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Varanasi, 1963 reprint, p. 203, text lines 8-9.

[53] *Harshacharita*, ed. by P. V. Kane, Delhi, 1965, *Chaturtha Uchchhvāsa*, p. 1.

[54] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[55] *Harshacharita, Pañchama Uchchhvāsa*, p. 19.

[56] V.S. Agrawala, *Harshacharita--Eka Sāṁskritika Addhyayana*, Patna, 1953, p. 87.

[57] Inferred from the informations given by Kalhaṇa that the Karkotas of Kashmir took the Taxila region from the Gurjaras (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 150).

[58] The Hūṇas of Zabul though ruled Gandhāra and Punjab also but in the times of powerful kings like Toramāṇa and Mihirakula, the later Hūṇas were mostly confined to the South-West Punjab and Zabulistan, i.e. more towards Iran.

Ratbil seems no more than a viceroy of the South-West region, who was probably, as D. C. Sircar suggests, made independent by the king of Kabul, as the pressure of the Turks and Arabs from the North and South-West respectively made it necessary to leave the South-Western possessions in the hands a of a viceroy.[65] The probability of Kabul ruler being a nominal king and the Ratbil being the ruler *de facto* may not be ruled out. This may be the reason that Hiuen Tsang noticed the king as Kshatriya, who may be identified

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59. H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 70. For an account of the Arab attempts towords Kabul, see *Infra*, pp. 69 ff.
60. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
61. *ibid.*, p. 71.
62. *loc. cit.*
63. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
64. *SGAMI* p. 235.
5. *loc. cit.*

with some predecessor of Ujr, the king of Kabul known from the traditions of the Hindus of that city and also mentioned in the *Rid wu ruwafiz*.[66] We may suggest that Kabul was under the control of the king Ujr in about 670 A.D. when Abd-ur Rahmān attacked the city. He is said to be the fourth in descent from Vikramāditya (Vikramjeet). However, if this king be taken one of those Turki Shāhis who ruled for about sixty generations it would be very difficult to bring Vikramāditya only four generations before the period under reference.

ALLIANCE WITH KASHMIR AND POSITION OF GANDHĀRA (?)

The Shāhi chiefs at the court of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (724-60 A.D.)[67] have been taken to be the Turki Shāhis.[68] It has been suggested that there was some political motive on the part of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa in giving high offices to the Shāhi chiefs. This was a wise step because the Arbs had already reached the Southern dominions of Kashmir.[69] But the identification of these Shāhi chiefs with the Shāhi kings of Kabul is not much convincing. Kalhaṇa does not mention either the capital or the area governed by these Shāhi chiefs. Moreover these chiefs are not to be taken as the kings. Thus it becomes clear that the Shāhi chiefs in the Kashmir administration were not the Shāhis who ruled at Kabul. However, the reference under consideration may well be taken to point some political allinece which resulted in the appointment of some Shāhi persons of Kabul in Kashmir administrtion. The main reason for such allience would probably have been the succesful advance of the Hūṇas of Zabul up to the Gandhāra region in about the early 8th century A.D.[70]

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[66] A. Burnes, *Cabool*. London, 1842, pp. 264 f.

[67] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 150-43.

[68] M.A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 90.

[69] H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[70] From the Chinese accounts we come to know that in the 8th century A.D. the region of Gandhāra was under tht Turkish kings (for references, Cf. *Supra*, p. 52). The one Tegin named king of Gandhāra is recorded to have retired in 728 A.D. for age reasons. Scholars have grounds to identify this king with the same

(*Contd. on page* 62)

In this period the Shāhis were seeking friendly relations with other powers also. The kingdom of Kapiśa was friendly to China in the period under reference from where embassies were received and sent to.[71] It was about this time (720A.D.) when the chief of Kapiśa was awarded the title Tegin.[72]

The mention of Gandhāra under the Turkish kings in the 8th century A.D.,[73] at least one of whom seems to have been the member of the Zabuli Hūṇa family[74], may lead us to infer that probably this part of the kingdom of the Shāhis of Kabul was for some time not under their control.

KANIK (?)

Other than Barhatakīn, Alberūnī records two names Kanik and Lagatūrmān, the latter being the last king of the dynasty.[75] However, the statement of Alberūnī differs from that of Rashīd-al-dīn and others that Kanik was the last of the

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(*Contd. from page* 61)

name king of the Hephthalite coins whose issues of the year A.D. 705 or 708 or 725 are noticed (Cf. H. Humbach, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmaler*, I, Wiesbaden, 1966, pp. 19 f.; also *Festgabe deutscher Iranisten zur* 2500 *Jahrfeier Irans*. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Eilers, Stuttgart, Hochwacht Druck, 1971, pp. 74 ff., pt. III). Tegin of coins is taken to be the king of Punjab and Iran (*NC*, third series Vol. XIV, 1894, pp. 269 f., 291 f.). His family seems to have survived in Zabul upto the 9th century A.D. as we may guess not only from the use of the Bactrian era but also the name Tegin and the titles Shāhi and Fromo used in the Tochi inscriptions of the 9th century A.D. which reflect some relation of the king Tegin of coins who used the Bactrian era, and his son Fromo with the kings referred to in the Tochi inscriptions (for names and titles in Tochi inscriptions and use of the Bactrian era, Cf. *AP*, Vol. I, 1964, pp. 130, 132 f.; *Festgabe deutscher Iranisten zur* 2500 *Jahrfeier Irans*. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Eilers, Stuttgart, Hochwacht Druck, 1971, pp. 74 ff., pts. II and III).

[71] Cf. *The Classical Age*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar and others, Bombay, 1962 print, pp. 622f.

[72] *ibid*., p. 622. This Tegin should not be confused with the Tegin of Gandhāra mentioned in the Chinese accounts and identified with the Tegin of coins who ruled from Zabul area and had the Kingdom extended from Punjab to Iran.

[73] For references, Cf. *Supra*, pp. 52.

[74] See discussion under f.n. 70 above.

[75] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit*., pp. 11, 13.

Kutaurmān kings.[76] Making Kanik the last of the Turkish dynasty does not seem authorised by the only original of Alberūnī's accounts available to us.[77] Rashīd al-dīn derived his information from Alberūnī, and there is every possibility of his misunderstanding of the passage of Alberūnī or of his using a defective copy of Alberūnī which is not to be found today. But, as M. Reinaud opines, 'this may reasonably be doubted.'[78]

Kanik is said to have been the founder of the Vihāra at Peshawar bearing his name.[79] On this very ground scholars have identified him with the Kushāṇa king Kanishka I the remains of whose monument have been found near Peshawar at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.[80]

Kanik is said to have marched against Kanauj and was misled by the minister of the king of Kanauj to the desert where even a drop of water was not available.[81] The story related with this expedition is taken to be a 'romantic one and having little foundation in truth' by H. M. Elliot.[88] J. Dowson, through referring to the same anecdote also related about another king,[83] seems not to disagree with Elliot. The reason why the anecdote has not received the attention of the historians of Kanishka I is perhaps the fact that the anecdote does not fit anywhere into the documented history of

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[76] Cf. *Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities*, ed. by E. Thomas, London, 1858, pp. 315 f.

[77] H M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 406,

[78] *loc. cit.*

[79] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[80] M. Reinaud, *Memoire Geographique, etc. sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, pp. 76 ff.; M.A. Stein, *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth. Zum Doctor-Jubileaum*, p. 198: H.M. Elliot, op. cit., pp. 410 f.; A. Cunningham, *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 194. The view is followed by many other scholars. However, it should be noted that Kanishka was not ruling from Kabul but from Peshawar (C.V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 200).

[81] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 f.

[82] *op. cit.*, p. 410.

[83] *ibid.*, p. 12, f.n. 1. The story is told with some variations in the *Jāmi ul-Hikāyāt*, where the hero is Shāh-i-Zābulistān (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 170 ff.)

Kanishka I.[84] Muhammad 'Aūfī records the same story related about some king of Zabul.[85] The reference to the king of Zabulistan and the omission of Kanik in this version has its special importance. Only the Hūṇas were known as the kings of Zabul.[86] The title is never connected with any of the Kushāṇa king. Thus we suggest that the anecdote which is narrated by Alberūnī about Kanik, is actually connected with some Hūṇa king who ruled from Zabul.

Thus it seems not impossible that the Kanik of Alberūnī is wrongly included as a member of the Turki Shāhi dynasty.[87]

E. Thomas relying upon the passages derived from the *Tārikh-i-Hind* of Rashīd al-dīn (710 A. H.) and preserved in the double texts of *Jāmai-al-Tawārikh* and *Tārikh-i-Binākiti*, takes kanik as the last king of the dynasty.[88] H. M. Elliot proposes to consider this king to be a second Kanik.[89] A. Cunningham seems to have followed Elliot, as at one place he states that Kanishka I was noticed by Alberūnī[90] and at another place he identifies the king Veṅka (Vakka[91])' known from the coins, with Kank referred to by E. Thomas.[92]

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[84] H. M. Elliot accepts the Kanauj expedition launched by Kanishka I (*ibid.*, p. 410), but there are no grounds for accepting it, Kanauj was not an important city at that time.

[85] *ibid.*, pp. 170 ff.

[86] U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

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[88] *op. cit.*, pp. 315 f.

[89] H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

[90] *op. cit.*, p. 194.

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[92] *CMI*, p. 59. The identification was suggested by him a little earlier before the appearance of the book *CMI* in 1894, when he dealt with the history and coinage of the Little Kushāṇas in 1893 (Cf. *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, p. 196), but gave no reference to the information presented by E. Thomas. Thomas was inclined to take the two names in question for an identical king (*JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, pp. 179 ff.) but later on changed his view as he noticed difficulties in the way of the association (*Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 43).

He takes Vakka to have been dethroned by Kallar, the Brāhmaṇa minister, but eventually to have regained his throne and to have ruled till the death.[93]

On the basis of the numismatic evidence, though Vakka may be placed very near to Spalapatideva since the coinage of both kings is similar,[94] but the identification of Kanik with Vakka is no more than a conjecture and whole of the reconstruction will be based on unreliable evidences.

LAGATURMĀN

The last of Turki Shāhi kings was Lagatūrmān.[95] Many readings of the name of this king have been found.[96] The preference for the readings other than E. C. Sachau's is probably due to the biased views of the scholars to relate the name with the Kator tribe.[97] The theory that the Kators are related to the Turki Shāhis is based on the information of the *Jāmi-ut-Tawārikh* and *Tārikh-i-Binākiti* where the name of this king is given as the name of the family, Kanak being its last member. To relate the Kators with the Turki Shāhis is farfetched and unconvincing. The Kators are well known in the Mediaeval times and thier Grecian lineage[98] does not suggest either their antiquity or their relation with the rulers of Kabul who belonged to some Central Asian stock.

J. Dowson notices that the name under consideration occurs only twice in M. Reinaud's printed text ; in the first

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[93] *CMI*, p. 59.

[94] Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Sections 'Coins of Spalapatideva' 'Coins of Vakkadeva' and 'Chronological Considerations'.

[95] E. C. Sachau. *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[96] For the first time M. Reinuad accepted the reading *Katourman* though in the text it was *Lakatouzeman* and *Lakatūrzamān* (Cf. H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 406, also f. n. 1 ; for the text, *Fragments, Arabes et Persans, relatifs a l' Inde*, Paris, 1845). E. Thomas noticed *Kutaurman* (*op. cit.*, pp. 315 f.). A. Cunningham accepts *al-Kitor CMI*, p. 55.

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J. Dowson notices that the name under consideration occurs only twice in M. Reinaud's printed text ; in the first instance, it is Laktouzeman and in the second Laktourzeman.[99] However, E.C. Sachau's reading 'Lagatūrmān' is very near to the second reading in Reinaud's text. Thus there seems no reason to accept the unauthorised readings except that we get some similarity of the name of a tribe of later times, whereas the readings Laktourzeman or Lagatūrmān are very near to the known name Toramāṇa, the Turkish forms of which are Toremān, Turamān or Toremen.[100] The prefix of the name may be taken, according to K.P. Jayaswal to correspond to some Śaka word like Liaka[101]

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[93] *CMI*, p. 59.

[94] Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Sections 'Coins of Spalapatideva' 'Coins of Vakkadeva' and 'Chronological Considerations'.

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[97] Cf. H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 406 f. ; *CMI*, p. 55.

[98] H. M. Ellioit, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

Lagatūrmān was evil in thought and action. The people complained of him to his Brāhmaṇa minister, who imprisoned the king for his correction, and later on became himself the king.[102] Similar blamings of a dethroned king is not unknown in history. We have no genuine information regarding the career of this king except that he was not able to safeguard his kingship. We may only infer about Lagatūrmān that he was a weak ruler and his minister grew in political influence and managed to capture the royal throne.

The identification of Lagatūrmān, suggesred by K.P. Jayaswal, with Toramāṇa of the Kura inscription and with the Śaka enemy of Rāmagupta[103] is chronologically impossible.

The revolt against Lagatūrmān was probably due to the increasing influences of Ratbil on the kingdom. It was a good time for the minister to capture the throne because the king was weak and the Ratbil was busy with the Arabs in the

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[99] *ibid.*, p. 406, f. n. 1.
[100] 1892-93, p. 239.
[101] *op. cit.*, p. 206.
[102] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[103] *op. cit.*, p. 206.

South-Western parts.[104] The change of ruling authority at Kabul seems also to have affected the policy in the taoubled regions of South-West, as Ratbil who was guarding the frontier seems not to have performed his duties as well as he had done in the past, since the Arabs occupied the region very soon after the change of authrity at Kabul.

Scholars accept the date *circa* 850 A.D.[105] for the foundation of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty by Kallar, making it thus the last year of the rule of the Turki Shāhis. Our doubts about accepting this date are roused by Alberūnī's statement that Lagatūrmān was imprisoned by Kallar for correction and the latter became later on the master of the kingdom.[106] This clearly indicates that Kallar ruled for some time in the name of Lagatūrmān and later declared himself as the king. The average period of 25 or 20 years assigned to the kings of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty is in any way not fully justified as there is every possibility of more than those kings enumerated by Alberūnī. The date of the Saffarid occupation of Kabul is well accepted to about 870 A.D. and at that time, taking coins a guide, Khvadavayaka ruled as their governor.[107] A study of the

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[104] The martial activities of the Arabs which probably started as early as 664 5 A.D. (S. Q. Fatimi, *JASP*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, June 1963, pp. 37 ff. ; K. A Rashid, *ibid.*, No. 2, December 1963, pp. 25 ff.) in this region came to some success at least in about 856-7 A. D. Hayy ibn-'Amār, probably an officer of the Arabs, is recorded to have constructad a tank in the Tochi valley (A. H. Dani and others, *AP*, Vol. I, 1964, pp. 125, 127 ff., the Arabic inscription of Hayy bin-'Amār is of the year 243 A. H.=857 A. D., the date 847 A.D. in the translation on p. 130 is a press mistake).

[105] H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 425 ; H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 76 ; A. Cunningham gives the end of the rule of Kallar in 875 A.D. taking the reign period approximately to be 25 years (*ASI, R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, Varanasi, 1966 reprint, p. 82). C. V. Vaidya gives the reign period as approximately 20 years only (*op. cit.*, p. 201) and thus the date under consideration comes 880 A.D. In accepting this date there are certain difficulties. Kallar usurped the throne at Kabul. How would this have been possible at Kabul when Yaqub Saffarid had captured the capital city in *circa* 870 A. D. Thus the date of Kallar must come before the date when capital fell into the hands of the Muslims.

[106] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[107] Cf. *Infra*, p. 87 f.

Shāhi coins reveals that the coins of (the first reign) of Sāmantadeva, Vakkadeva and Spalapatideva, pre-date Khvadavayaka's issues.[108] We do not find much ground to assign, more than three years to Vakka and Sāmanta. The varied coins of Spalapatideva certainly need a longer period to be allotted. Kallar, as he was a vazir in his early career and perhaps found no time to issue coins leads to suggest a too short reign for him.[109] Thus round about a 10 year-period, before the Saffarids captured Kabul, would have passed when the reign of Lagatūrmān came to an end.

EXTENT OF THE KINGDOM

By the end of the 5th century A.D. the Hūṇas were occupying Tokharistan, Kabulistan and Zabulistan.[110] With the rise of Toramāṇa in the years *circa* 500-10 A.D. all the three regions seem to have been ruled independently. The city of Kabul, where the first Hūṇa king of India named Barhatakīn ruled remained the capital of the Hūṇas of Kabulistan. Hiuen Tsang informs us that Udabhāṇḍapura was the second capital of the king of Kapiśa.[111] From Kalhaṇa we infer that the kingdom of the Turki Shāhis was bordered by the river Indus, beyond which the land of Takka was under the Gujaras.[112] The boundaries towards the North-East and South and South-West are not to be specifically determined. Thus we can take the kingdom of the Turki Shāhis as comprising the whole of Kabulistan and the land up to the river Indus in the East, being the ancient Kapiśa and upper Gandhāra, having the Hindu Kush and Koh-i-Baba ranges in the North and North-West, Zabulistan in the South-West and South, the river Indus in the East and Kashmir in the North-East.

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[108] Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Section 'Chronological Considerations'.

[109] For the discussion on reign periods, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 80ff., 82ff., 84f., 85f. and 87ff.

[110] U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[111] S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[112] *Rājataraṅginī*, V. 150.

Appendix A

THE ARAB ATTEMPTS TOWARDS KABUL

When the Hūṇas concentrated at Kabul, the Northern land of Bactria, in a political sense, naturally became less important for them who marched from there to another centre. The declining glory of the Sasanians after Khusru I was also not able to gain sway over the Northern land. And thus it was in a fortunate condition for the rising Turks who raided the land south of Oxus and spread their influence even up to lands south of Hindu Kush. The Turks were destroyed by the Chinese power under the recently established Tang dynasty by the sixties of the 7th century A.D.[113] The Chinese enjoyed control of Bactria for not more than a decade when the Arabs, who suddenly rose to military power uprooted them and became supreme in the Northern region.[114]

The Arab attempts to enter Indian lands were made since about 636 A.D. when the first naval expedition was sent to the port of Thana. However, the Arabs at this time did not have any success by sea. Afterwards they directed their armies through the land routes. The well known Passes of Khyber and the Makran coast were open to the hostile armies of the Arabs.

They advanced in two directions, the one towards Sindh and the other towards Kabul and Zabul.

The narratives in the Arab annals recording their attempts to enter Indian lands are not wholly impartial. In general the defeats of the Arabs are minimised and their smallest successes have prominence. The periods of peace or martially ineffectiveness are generally marked with the records of the misbehaviours of the Indian king or his officer governing the Western frontier.

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[113] M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1907, pp. 58 f. and 62.

[114] H. A. R. Gibb, *Arab Conquest in Central Asia*, London, 1923, pp. 15 ff.

At present we are not going to discuss the Arab attempts in general,[115] but only with specific reference to the kingdom of Kabul. H.C. Ray is of opinion that the first successful attempt of the Arabs towards Kabul was in about 650 A.D.,[116] when Ar-Rabī was able to capture the city of Zaranj.[117] On the basis of the subsequent account given by Balādhurī it is surmised by Ray that the Satrap of Zaranj was probably an officer of the line of Indian princes who ruled in the Kabul and Helmund valleys and were variously known to the Arabs as Rantbil, Rutbil and Zanbil.[118] However, distant Zaranj, in the South-West direction from Kabul, on lake Zarah (Hamūn-i-Helmund [119]) is hard to believe under the ruler of Kabul. We have also no evidence regarding it. Such attempts of the Arabs only show their activities concerned with the lands of Sijistan.

The first success towards Kabul by the Arabs was in the times of Caliph Muawiyah (661-680 A.D.) when Abd-ur-Rahmān was appointed as the governor of Sijistan for the second time. Before his death in 670 A.D. a series of campaigns are recorded resulting in the capture of Kabul, Zabul, Bust and Rukhkhaj. The king of Kabul at this time may be suggested to be identified with the king Urj who is known to have fought with the one Abdul Rahmān.[120] The revolt of Kabul and Zabul mentioned after the death of Abd-ur-Rahmān clearly shows that his success was not of the permanent nature. The ruler of Kabul is recorded to have driven out the Muslims from Kabul and to have captured the lands of Zabulistan, Ar-Rukhkhaj and Bust. This should be taken to indicate that the attempts of Abd-ur-Rahmān were severely checked and the Arabs had to retreat to their original post. The succeeding period is again marked with the Arab attempts for Kabul. In 680 A.D. Abu 'Ubaydah ibn-Ziyād was imprisoned by the king of Kabul. The counter action taken by the march of the Arab army with Yazīd ibn-Ziyād as leader resulted in vain, and a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Arabs so that they had to flee from the whole of the Arab posts in Sijistan. The Arabs were always attempting again and again. In one of the encounters the officer of the Kabul king was put to death. In such a difficult position also the king strengthened his defences and the succeeding Ratbil managed to improve his position against the Arabs. The Arabs were still prolonging the war. The Arab governor 'Ubayd Ullah ibn-Abi-Bakrah (*circa* 694-713 A.D.) was badly defeated by Ratbil near Kabul. Three sons of Ubayd Ullah were taken as hostage to the Kabul darbar as a result of a truce. The next Arab attempt, by Qutaba in 710 A.D. also resulted in the defeat of the Arabs.

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[115] For the Arab attempts in general, Cf. 'Arab Invasion of India' by R. C. Majumdar, *JIH*, Vol. X, pt. I, Dacca University Supplement, pp. 1 ff.

[116] H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[117] *Kitāb Futūh al- Buldān* of al-Balādhurī, trans. by F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, Pt. II, New York, 1924, pp. 141ff.

[118] H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[119] G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 334 ff.

In the reign of the Abbasid Caliph Al-Manṣūr (745-54 A.D.) active steps were taken against the Kabul power. Man ibn-Zaidah succeeded to some extent but not substantially. In the times of the Caliph Harun-i-Rashid (786-809 A.D.)

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[120] A. Burnes has noticed about the king 'Urj' who fought with' Abdool Rahman' not only from traditions but also in a work known *Rid wu ruwafiz* (Cf. *Cabool*, London, 1842, pp. 24 f.). At this time the Arabs also seem to have attempted to enter the Punjab plains through the region of Bannu as suggested by S.Q. Fatimi (*op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.) and K.A. Rashid (*op. cit.* pp. 25 ff.) based on an interpretation of a passage of Balādhurī. However the question is still open to be discussed as the identification of Al-Ahwar with the village Lahor near Hund is not very plausible (Cf. *Infra*, pp. 123 f.).

also the Arabs attemted to capture the Indian posts. The city of Kāpiśī was sacked by Ibrahim bin-Jabbal, the governor of Zabulistan, in the year 793 A.D.[121] The period upto 867 A.D. records nothing important except that there was either peace or simple attempts of no importance.[122] The long war and the rule of a wicked king at Kabul seem to have affected the defending officer and the opportunity favoured the attempts of Yaqub ibn-Laith to conquer not only Sijistan and Herat but also to occupy the city of Kabul in 870 A.D. However, the occupation of Kabul seems not to have been for very long time, as the Saffarids were displaced by the Samanids, who do not appear to have engaged themselves in the Kabul valley. The Hindu Shāhis, who later departed to Udabhāṇḍapura, perhaps did not try again to re-glorify the old capital. Thus the glory of Kabul fell after the Turki Shāhis.[123]

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121. Cf. A.A. Kohzad, *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, Vol. II, Kabul, 1946, p. 551. Scholars are of the view that Kabul became the capital of the Shāhis only after this event (Cf. *Infra*, p. 121). In that case all the Arab attempts towards Kabul before the date of this event may be noted for the old capital Kāpiśī.

122. At this time perhaps the Arabs were more interested in taking Zabul and entering into the plains of Punjab. It is proposed that such an attempt took place as early as 664-5 A.D. (S.Q. Fatimi, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff. ; K.A. Rashid, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.). The hypothesis has gained some support with the notice of an Arabic inscription of the year 856-7 A.D. which proves the hold of the Arabs in tne Tochi valley, a region which lay *en route* the Arab invarion of Punjab plains (A.H. Dani and others, *AP*, Vol. I, 1964, pp. 125, 127). How far the Arabs succeeded in the Punjab plains is still a matter of controversy. There are reasons to disaprove the identification of Al-Ahwar with the village Lahor near Hund upto which place the Arabs are noted to have reached (Cf. *Infra*, pp. 123 f.).

123. The facts taken into the discussions are mainly based on Balādhurī (F.C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-55.). For the political activities of the Arabs in Eastern Afghanistan, Cf. C.E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids*, Rome, 1968 ; also *IQ*, Vol. IX, 1965. pp. 12 ff.

Appendix B

RATBIL

The governor ruling over the area South-West of Kabul is recorded by the Muslim writers as Ratbil or Zanbil. However, the word under consideration has been variously recorded by different scholars from various manuscripts.[124] Ratbil was not a personal name is quite clear from the use of the word for successive princes.[125] Scholars suggest the word to denote the name of dynasty or family,[126] or a title of the governor.[127] The correct reading for the word is suggested by H.H. Wilson as Retnapāla or Rutunpal[128] and by H.G. Raverty as Ratapāl or Rinpāl.[129] H. Goetz on the parallel of the name Muktāpīḍa recorded by the Muslims as Mutapir suggests that Ratbil is an obvious derivation from Chandrāpīḍa, i.e. Chandrāpīḍa-Drāpīr-Ratbil.[130] On the analogy of Mutpir the distortion of the other name is only possible up to Drāpīr. Chandrāpīḍa would have been a title seems not possibie. D.C. Sircar has related the word with Prāntapāla or Janapāla.[131] There is also a suggestion to relate it with the word Rai.[132] However, in this connection the studies presented by A. Cunningham[133] and B.D. Mirchandani[134] that the several variants together with the words Ranmal or Ramal or Nirmal are the results of corrupt scribe of the word Zabul, may be quite useful. The variants of the word Ratbil clearly show its some relation with Zabul. If Jābulavīra be taken the original word it may be suggested that the corrupt form of this original being Jabbīl may have been variously recorded by the Muslims. Mr. Price opined that Ratbil was either Tartar or Hindu, more probably the latter,[135] H.G. Raverty also follows him.[136] We have already discussed about the circumstances of Kabul being noticed under a Kshatriya ruler by Hiuen Tsang.[137] it was perhaps this Ratbil who had great influences over the capital and the Chinese pilgrim would have gathered the wrong information about the ruling person.[138]

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[124] Ratbīl, Ratbyl, Rateil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Ranbal, Renbal, Ranbil, Ranbol, Ratpal, Ratpil, Rantal, Rantil, Reteil, Rateil, Retpeil Rusal, Rasal, Rūtsal, Zanbil, Zanbol, Zentil, Zenbil, Zenbyl, Zantīl, Zambīl (Cf. H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, p. 133, f.n. 1; H.G. Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*, London, 1888, p. 62; H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, f.n. 2 and 417; A. Cummingham, *NC*, third series, Vol. XIV, 1894, p. 275).

[125] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 70. ff.; also H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[126] H.G. Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[127] H.C. Ray, op. *cit.* p. 71 and other authorities quoted by him in f.n. 1; O. Caroe, *The Pathans*, London, 1958, p. 460; A.D.H. Bivar, *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, 1968, p. 155, f.n. 2.

[128] *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[129] *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[130] *JBU*, new series, Vol. 21, pt. 2, 1952, p. 68, f.n. 40; 'Two early Hindu Śāhi Sculptuaes,' reprinted from *Sarūpp Bhāratī*, L. Sarup Memorial Volume, Hoshiarpur, 1954, p. 4.

[131] *op. cit.*, p. 235, f.n. 4.

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132. A.A. Kohzad, *op. cit.*, p. 540 ; G. Singh, First Session, Patiala, 1965, p. 70.

133. *NC*, third series, Vol. XIV, 1894, p. 275.

134. *JIH*, Vol. XLIII, pt. II, 1965, pp. 371, 376.

135. *Mahommedan History*, Vol. I, p. 454 as quoted by H.H. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 133, f.n. 1. O. Caroe (*op. cit.*, p. 460) considers the Ratbil belonging to the mixed Kushāṇa and Haytal (i.e. Hephthlite) origin with Indian affinities.

136. Cf. H.H. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

137. Cf. *Supra*, pp. 51,60.

138. Cf. *Supra*, pp. 60 f.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Dates in A.D.

circa 475	Foundation of the Turki Shāhi dynasty by Barhatakīn.
circa 500-10	Kabul and Zabul being ruled separately as independent kingdoms.
circa 605-6	Struggle of the Kabul power with the Pushyabhūtis.
circa 630	Ratbil becomes ruler *de facto*.
circa 650	Beginning of the raids of the Arabs.
circa 670	Urj rules at Kabul.
circa 860	End of the rule of Lagatūrmān, the last Turki Shāhi king.

CHAPTER IV

THE HINDU SHĀHIS

NATURE AND SCOPE OF SOURCES

Before we discuss the kings and their chronological order it is appropriate that we present some observations on the sources at hand. Of the Muslim historians who have discussed the history of the Hindu Shāhi kings, only Alberūnī presents a fairly complete picture regarding the number of rulers and their chronological order. However, his statements that 'unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings,'[1] and 'I have been told that the pedigree of this royal family written on silk exists in the fortress Nagarkot, and I much desired to make myself acquainted with it, but the thing was impossible for various reasons'[2] leave no doubt about the fact that his information is neirher complete nor totally correct, and whatever he has written was only 'for this' that he 'should communicate to the reader the traditions which (he) received from some people'.[3] Our main Indian source is Kalhaṇa, who refers to the Shāhi kings only casually when it was necessary to remember them while dealing with the kings of Kashmir.[4] For chronological consideration there is only one inscription of Bhīmadeva which

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1. *Kitāb ul-Hind*, trans. by E. C. Sachau, *AI*, Vol. II, pp. 10 f.
2. *ibid.*, p. 11.
3. *loc. cit.*
4. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. by M. A. Stein, Bombay, 1892, Taraṅgas IV-VIII.

refers to his father.[5] The numismatic evidence has much light to throw on the problem especially in respect of the early Hindu Shāhi kings.[6] Thus it is clear that our sources are to be treated on a scientific way and used cautiously. The words of H. M. Elliot are valuable in this regard that 'all that is required is that there should be no unnatural forcing to suit preconceived theories'.

ORIGIN AND RACE

The Hindu Shāhis ruled after the last Turki Shāhi king Lagatūrmān. If we believe Alberūnī, who, other than the inscriptions and coins, is chronologically the earliest and nearest source for the history of the Shāhis, these kings belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family.[8] His statement is supported by later muslim writers like Firishta[9] and Munṣūr.[10] In middle of the 12th century A.D., as Kalhaṇa states, these kings belonged to the Kshatriya class.[11] Taking the information given by Kalhaṇa as his basis, together with an indirect corroboration from Hiuen Tsang, D. C. Sircar has tried to show that the Hindu Shāhis were of the Kshatriya class.[12] We have already

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5. Cf. *Infra*, Chapter V, Appendix, Inscription No. 1.
6. Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VI, Section 'Chronological Considerations'.
7. H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ed. by J. Dowson, Allahabad reprint, Vol. II, p. 425.
8. E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 13.
9. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, trans. by J. Briggs, *The Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India*, London, 1829, Vol. I, p. 15.
10. *Ādāb-ul-Mulūk wa Kifāyat-ul Mamlūk*, trans. by M. Nazim, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 491. M. Baqir has opined that Manṣūr's statement that 'Jaipal, king of Brahmanas' does not imply that Jayapāla was a Brāhmaṇa himself. He also quotes a reference where the same king is noticed as Bhatti (Cf. *IC*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, 1948, pp. 298 f.). Scholars have also taken the word Brāhmaṇa only to mention their religious faith and not the caste (Cf. H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 426 ; S. D. Singh Charak, *PURB*, No. 1, 1970, pp. 2 ff.) However Alberūnī does not seem to have confused while using the word Brāhmaṇa with which he was well acquainted (Cf. *AI*, Chaptet II on the *Varṇas*, pp. 99-104).
11. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 3230.
12. *SGAMI*, pp. 234 f. He also includes the Turki kings in the Hindu Shāhi family.

commented upon his view regarding the king of Kapiśa referred to by Hiuen Tsang.[13] His suggestion is based on evidence of the 12th century A. D. However, the evidence of Alberūnī may be more correct since he was nearer to the Shāhi kings in time and Kalhaṇa is at least a century later.

Considering the name endings, E. Thomas, H.M. Elliot and A. Cunningham held that the kings whose names end in °deva must indeed have been Brāhmaṇas, those whose names end in °pāla were Rajput Kshatriyas.[14] D. R. Sahni considers this view only partially correct. Referring to the matrimonial relations between the Shāhi princesses and Kshatriya princes of Kashmir, Sahni concludes that Bhīmadeva must have been a Kshatriya.[15] The evidence of the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva which records the name of his father ending in °varman[16] which is a Kshatriya title, perhaps led Sahni to take the matrimonial relation of Bhīmadeva's daughter with Siṁharāja as indicative of the Shāhi king belonging to the Kshatriya class.

It is rightly criticised by C.V. Vaidya that the name ending suffix is not conclusive in determining the class, as we find that the name endings prescribed for different *varṇas* were not followed very strictly.[17] The name ending °varman, as Vaidya takes it, came to be used not for the reason that the person was of the Kshatriya class but that the dynasty was Kshatriya for all practical purposes.[18] But the question that why only one king had a name with the °varman suffix and the others had names ending in °deva and °pāla, remains unanswered in the explanation given by Vaidya. It is wrong to accept any conclusion based on the name suffixes alone. The suffixes °deva, °pāla and °varman have nothing to do with the caste of the personalities using them and should merely be taken as honorific suffixes being an integral part of the names.

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[13] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 51,60.

[14] *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, p. 184; H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 425f., *ASI, R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, Vatanasi, 1966 reprint, p. 82 ; *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, pp. 189, 193 ; *CMI*, p. 56. He also refers to Masūdī's statement that the Kandahār (Gandhāra) was the country of the Rajputs and the king was called Hahaj, to be identified with Jajuh Rajputs of the Salt Range. The matrimonial relations of the Shāhi kings are also referred to.

[15] *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, p. 299.

[16] *loc. cit.*

[17] *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, Poona 1921, pp. 197 f. ; Vol. III, Poona, 1926, p. 21.

[18] *loc. cit.*

In the present state of our knowledge the evidence discussed above leads us to suggest that the Hindu Shāhis were Brahma-kshatras, i.e. Brāhmaṇa who discarded their priestly profession for martial pursuits. Early Mediaeval history contains many other examples.[19]

If we believe the tradition of the Mohyal Brāhmaṇas of the North-Western region, the Hindu Shāhis descended from the Epic Brāhmaṇa hero Aśvatthāmā, the son of Droṇāchārya.[20] The tradition has nothing to prove its historicity and their origin will always be conjectural. But this tradition to some extent strengthens the view that the Hindu Shāhis were Brahma-kshatras.

KALLAR : THE FOUNDER OF THE DYNASTY

Lagatūrmān, the last Turki Shāhi king of Kabul was imprisoned and dethroned by his Brāhmaṇa minister named Kallar, according to the information gathered by Alberūnī.[21]

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[19] For a detailed study about the Brahma-Kshatras. Cf. V.S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, Bombay, 1966, pp. 164 f.

[20] Cf. C.V Vaidya, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 22. ; also *Glossary of Tribes and Castes of Punjab*, Vol. III, 1970 reprint, pp. 132 ff.

[21] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13. H. Goetz proposes to consider the Brāhmaṇa minister as a governor appointed by the Kashmir king in Afghanistan on the evidence that the Shāhis served as officials of Lalitāditya and who may have been reinstated after the death of Lalitāditya with a governor to look after the policies, and the governor revolted against Kashmir when the Pratihāras captured the plains of Punjab ('Two Early Hindu Śāhi Sculptures', reprinted from *Sarūpa Bhāratī*, L. Sarup Memorial Volume, 1954, p. 4). However, if such was the case, it must not have escaped from Kalhaṇa's account. The Pratihāras come a little later to affect the kingdom of Kashmir. The reconstruction of the events by Goetz is based on the identification of Kallar with Lalliya and hence a confussion.

The reason for the minister occupying the royal throne is stated by Alberūnī to be that Kallar was fortunate enough to find a hidden treasure which gave him much influence and power, leading him to imprison the king as a result of the complaints from people regarding the bad manners of their ruler, and finally to capture the throne.[22] This information seems to have been based on popular tradition but it appears to contain an element of historical truth. It is interesting to note that more stress is laid on the finding of the treasure than the imprisonment of the king. The probability that this actually implies the capture of the royal treasure after which the minister imprisoned the king on the pretext of the complaints of the people. The imprisonment was announced as being intended for the king's correction but was meant as a step of the plan conceived by Kallar. This is also clear from Alberūnī's statement that 'the minister found ruling sweet, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans and so he occupied the royal throne'.[23] This information collected by Alberūnī points not only to the revolt of Kallar but also to his skill and intellect which led him to a success.

We are not aware of any other literary[24] or archaeological[25] evidence regarding Kallar. However, the name of a Hindu temple near the village of Shah Muhammad Wali in the North-West corner of the Jhelum district in Punjab attracts our attention. This temple is called by name Kalar or Sassī dā Kallar[26] which suggests some association with the

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[22] E. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[23] *loc. cit.* However, there is every chance to identify Lagatūrmān with the Kank (Cf. also H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 424) of some manuscripts brought to notice by E. Thomas (*JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, pp. 194 f.). The second reign of Kank, said to have commenced after his imprisonment may be proposed to be the rule of Kallar in the name of the last Turki Shāhi.

[24] Kallar has been improperly identified with the Lalliya of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. For detailed comment, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 115 f.

[25] Kallar has been improperly identified with the Spalapatideva of coins. For detailed comment, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 116 ff.

[26] *JRAS*, 1903, p. 335.

Brāhmaṇa ruler Kallar; this suggestion is strengthened by coins of the Shāhi kings discovered near the walls and elsewhere in the vicinity.[27] The probable date of the temple, *circa* 7th to 9th centuries A.D.,[28] also suggests its association with the Hindu Shāhis unwarranted. If the above proposal be accepted the temple under reference may be taken as an indicative of Kallar's rule over the Jhelum district.

We have already discussed the date of the dethronement of the Turki Shāhi king Lagatūrmān which comes to about 860 A.D.[29] However, considering his services as a Vazīr of Lagatūrmān, lack of coinage attributable to him and the evidence discussed below, which shows that about four kings ruled after Kallar in the following decade, we are unable to allot a reign period of more than two years to this Brāhmaṇa king of Kabul.

SPALAPAṬIDEVA

This king is known from his coins only.[30] His coins in different varieties and the gradual deformation in the legend found in front of the horse on his coins, clearly show a longer reign period. To place this king just after Kallar is reasonable as his numismatic imitations of the Hūṇa coinage, prove.[31] The coinage of Kapiśa, referred to by Hiuen Tsang,[32] must

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27. *ibid.*, p. 336.
28. *ibid.*, p. 337.
29. Cf. *Supra*, pp. 67 f.
30. For his coins, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 200 ff. D.W.MacDowall's suggestion that Spalapatideva was a mere title used by more than one king on their coins (*NC*, Seventh series, Vol. VIII, 1968, p. 211) hardly seems probable. However, he considers Spalapati, Sāmanta and Vakka as titles but Khvadavayaka and Bhīmadeva as individual names. Such contradicting views are enough to discredit his suggestion. However, H.C. Ray is the only authority who considers Spalapatideva as other than of those kings known from literary sources, putting him in the 'not identified' group (*DHNI*, p. 162, Coins of the Śāhis, no. 8).
31. Cf. *Infra*, p. 200 f.
32. T. Watters, On *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. I, p. 123.

have followed the pattern of the coinage of the Hūṇas to which stock the ruling dynasty of the Turki Shāhis belonged.[33] Thus it is clear that Spalapatideva, when issued his first variety of coins was very near to the last king of the former dynasty. In the light of these points we suggest that Spalapatideva came to the throne just after the short reign of Kallar.[34]

The finds of coins of Spalapatideva, mostly in Afghanistan and less in Punjab,[35] may be taken to prove that his kingdom was confined to Kabul and around it, while most of Punjab remained out of his control. The suggestion is also supported by the fact that a branch of the Shāhis was active at Udabhāṇḍapura, emerging a little later under the leadership of Lalliya.

The Bull and Horseman type of coins issued by Spalapatideva is also followed by Khvadavayaka, Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva. However, there is not much evidence of any family relationship of Spalapatideva with the other Shāhi rulers issuing Bull and Horseman type coins. But the name ending along with some common mint marks[36] may lead one to propose that Spalapatideva was somehow related with Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva.

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[33] The king of Kapiśa is taken to belong to the Turki Shāhi dynasty, however, due to the increasing influence of Rarbil probably the Chinese pilgrim was misled to record the ruler of Kapiśa to belong to the Kshatriya class (Cf. *Supra*, pp. 51 f. and 60).

[34] Spalapatideva has been improperly identified with Kallar by most of scholars dealing with the history of the Shāhis. For detailed comment, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 116 ff. As we do not identify Spalapatideva with Kallar, the dates suggested by A. Cunningham (875 A.D., *ASI,R*, 1872-73, Vol. V. p 82; *CMI*, p. 62 chart; 840 A.D., *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 19- chart), V.A. Smith (9th century A.D., *Catalogue of the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p. 246) and D.W. MacDowall (about 750 A.D., *op. cit.*, p. 212 chart) are not discussed here.

[35] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 207.

[36] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 205 f., Plate IX.

The silver coins of Spalapatideva, larger in number and purer in metal (about 3 to 3.5% gold, 30% copper and 66 to 69% silver)[37] than the issues of other kings, reflect the prosperous condition of the royal treasury of that time.

To determine a probable date of the end of the reign of Spalapatideva a few points are to be taken into consideration. It is well known that in 870 A.D. the Saffarid Yaqub captured the city of Kabul.[38] Only after this event could the coins of Khavadavayaka bearing *adl* in Persian script have been issued. These coins bear the *visargānta* legend as we find on some coins of Sāmantadeva. While there is an additional use of Persian, Khavadavayaka is to be post dated to Sāmantadeva of the *visargānta* legend. A study of the mint marks and motifs of the coins of Vakkadeva and Sāmantadeva reveals that the former must be earlier than the latter.[39] Thus we have two kings before 870 A.D. The lesser number of coins of Sāmantadeva with the *visargānta* legend in comparison to the coins of Vakkadeva suggest shorter and longer reign periods of these kings respectively. However, the reign period of Vakkadeva must be shorter than that of Spalapatideva, on the same grounds as referred to above. Thus we may tentatively date the end of the regin of Spalapatideva in about 867 A.D. The period of Vakkadeva may be considered as about 867-869 A.D. giving at least a period of about one year to Sāmantadeva of the *visargānta* legend.

VAKKADEVA

The coins belonging to this king are the only proof of his reign.[40] His coins are found, though rarely, from Jhelum to Kabul area, mostly from Punjab.[41] Can this show that his kingdom was centred in the Punjab rather than in Afghanistan? If this is so, he may have come to power at Udabhāṇḍapura in the last phase of the reign of Spalapatideva and this would be the reason why the coins of the latter were less in circulation in Punjab than in Afghanistan. We have already suggested that he was in some way related to Spalapatideva. As we have seen, his reign have been from about 867-869 A.D.[42] with the probability that he rose to power a year or two earlier at Udabhāṇḍapura.[43]

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[37] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 211 f.

[38] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 85 ff.

[39] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 205 f.

[40] For his coins. Cf. *Infra*, pp. 267 ff. However, his identification with the last Turki Shāhi king, referred to in some of the manuscripts as Kank (Kanak or Kanika), was simply based on the reading of the name on coins as Vaṅkadeva or Veṅkadeva, suggested by E. Thomas (*op. cit.*, p. 119), E.C. Baley (*NC*, third series, Vol. II, 1882. p. 130) and A. Cunningham (*NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 196 chart; *CMI*, pp. 57 and 58), now holds no ground with the reading of the name as Vakkadeva.

SĀMANTADEVA : HIS FIRST REIGN

The coins of Sāmantadeva may well be divided, in chronological order, into three categories--having *visargānta* legend, with simple Sāmantadeva legend and degenerated billon issues post-dating the king.[44] However there is no clue either to separate the identity of the issuers of these coin groups or to attribute these coins to the same Sāmantadeva. The record of Alberūnī tells of a king named Sāmand who ruled after Kallar.[45] This Sāmand is identified with the

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[41] Cf. *Infra*, p. 207.

[42] Cf. *Supra*, p. 84.

[43] As we do not identify Vakkadeva with the last Turki Shāhi king the dates suggested by A. Cunningham (825 A.D., *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 196 chart ; 860 and 895 A.D. for his two reigns, *CMI*, p. 62 chart) are not taken under discussion here. The date suggested by V.A. Smith, to about early in the 10th century (*op. cit.*, p. 248), however, is too late. Similarly, the date after 750 A.D. suggested by D.W. MacDowall (*op. cit.*, p. 212 chart) is too early. The way in which these suggestions are forwarded to is also not acceptable due to lack of sufficient grounds.

[44] For his coins, *Infra*, pp. 199 ff.

[45] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13. He is said to have succeeded to the throne in some of the manuscripts (Cf. E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 f.) after the second reign of the last Turki Shāhi king. However, we have shown above that Alberūnī may not be our guide while considering chronology. C.V. Vaidya considers Sāmanta as a king subordinate to Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir after the reign of Lalliya (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 201). However, neither Śaṅkaravarman took any possession over the Shāhis nor Lalliya can be identified with Kallar to post-date Sāmanta (Cf. *Supra*, pp. 81 f.n. 24 ; *Infra*, p. 90).

Sāmantadeva of the coins by all historians.[46]

A numismatic study of the Shāhi issues reveals that the coins of Sāmantadeva post-date the issues of Vakkadeva and his *visargānta* coins pre-date the coins of Khvadavayaka.[47] The unique gold coin of Bhīmadeva referring to a Sāmantadeva[48] suggests that the latter's rule continued till very near the period of Bhīmadeva. In the light of this suggestion, it seems possible that Sāmantadeva ruled twice in his lifetime. His first reign is to be dated before Khvadavayaka, i.e. 870 A.D., when the Saffarids occupied Kabul, and his second reign sometime before Bhīmadeva. Here we consider only his first reign which commenced after Vakkadeva and lasted from 869 to 870 A.D.

In the light of this chronology the Saffarid king Yaqub ibn Laith raided and captured Kabul in the time of Sāmantadeva and the latter was overpowered.[49] The Muslim historians state that Zunbil's (Ratbil's) son took refuge in Kabul in December 869 A.D. when Yaqub marched to Ghazni from Zaranj and snow and wintry weather prevented Yaqub from pursuing him further. This may have been the main reason why Yaqub came to Kabul *en route* for Bamiyan and Balkh.[50]

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[46] D.W. MacDowall is the only scholar differing with others to a little extent that 'Sāmantadeva in al-Birūni's list is probably a name falsely inferred from the existence of so many coins with 'Śrī Sāmantadeva' legend (*op. cit.*, p. 211). This suggestion would have been only correct if the other series of coins, next to Sāmantadeva coins in abundance, could have also falsely came to be noticed by Alberūnī.

[47] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 205 f.

[48] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 195 f.

[49] A.A. Kohzad (*Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, Vol. II, Kabul, 1946, p. 563) and G. Singh (*PPHC*, First Sesion, Patiala, 1965, p. 71) have also reached this conclussion but in different way that Kamalavarman was preceded by Sāmantadeva and Kallar, while his contemporary Amru ibn-Laith was preceded by Yaqub and therefore Yaqub was the contemporaty of Sāmantadeva and probably of Kallar also.

[50] For the references to Yaqub's campaign to Kabul, Cf. Minhāj ud-Dīn, *Tabquāt-i-Nāsirī*, trans. by H.G. Raverty, Vol. I, London, 1881, p. 22; Mohammad 'Aūfī, *Jāmi-ul-Hikāyāt*, trans. by H.M. Elliot,

(*Contd. on page 87*)

As Yaqub marched from Kabul to Bamiyan and as no record of his direct rule over Kabul is known to us, it seems that the Saffarid king came just with a view to punish the king of Kabul and returned.[51] However, the coins of Khvadavayaka show that either he was made king of Kabul by Yaqub or he ruled as a governor of the latter.

KHVADAVAYAKA

The coins of Khvadavayaka are the only proof of his reign.[52] We have already discussed his date about 870 A.D., following D.W. MacDowall,[53] on account of the introduction of Persian legend on his coins.[54] The introduction of a weight system of the Arabs well attests either the position of Khvadavayaka as a governor of Yaqub or as a king appointed by him. He may have been of the line of Lagatūrmān as he was certainly not from the family of Sāmantadeva whose second reign was yet to come. Khvadavayaka may have belonged

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(*Contd. from page* 86)

op. cit., pp. 170 ff. where we find about his Zabul expedition and as the Ratbils are taken to be telated with Kabul, the ruler Rusal or Ratbil thus would have given way to Yaqub to march over Kabul (*Tārīkh-i-Sīstān*, ed. by Malik as-Shuara Bahar, Tehran, 1935, p. 215). For detailed study of the campaigns of Yaqub in Afghanistan, see C.E. Bosworth, 'Notes on the pre-Ghaznavid History of Eastern Afghanistan', *IQ*, Vol. IX, 1955, pp. 122 ff. ; *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids*, Rome, 1968, pp. 118 ff. ; H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 419 f.

[51] Yaqub's conquest is taken to be more durable than any of the Muslim conquests before on the evidence of his coins struck at Panjshir in the years 874-5 A.D. (Cf. H.M. Elliot, *loc. cit.* ; A. Cunningham, *CMI*, pp. 87 and 62 ; G. Rai, *JPHS*, Vol. VII, 1918, p. 118). But the evidence should be taken only to prove that the North-Western portion might have gone to his empire. His sway over Kabul for about 6 years is not justified as we have discussed that Khvadavayaka was probably the ruler of Kabul at that time.

[52] For his coins, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 198 f.

[53] *op. cit.*, pp. 211 f.

[54] Scholars like E. Thomas (*op. cit.*, p. 180) and A. Cunningham (*CMI*, p. 59) are of opinion that Khvadavayaka is to be identified with Kamalū of Alberūnī and Kamaluka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. However, neither the mutations of the letters suggested by them are acceptable (Cf. H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 423) nor the dates (A. Cunningham, 900 A.D., *NC*, 1893, p. 196, chart ; 940 A.D., *CMI*, p. 62 chart).

to some other family but he was not a Muslim. The small number of his coins suggests that he had a short reign of about one or two years only. This seems more probable in view of the fact that the Saffarids were soon involved with Bamiyan and Balkh and could pay little attention to Kabul, thus giving a chance to the deposed king of Kabul to seize the kingdom from the tributary ruler.

SĀMANTADEVA : HIS SECOND REIGN

The short reign of Khvadavayaka seems to have come to an end through the efforts of Sāmantadeva. While discussing the chronology of his first reign we have shown that the second reign came before Bhīmadeva of the unique gold coin and thus it may be accepted that it came even before the reign of Bhīmadeva's father Kamalavarman whom the former succeeded. The Sāmantadeva of the coins without the *visargānta* legend, thus was that Sāmantadeva whose rule comes before the time of Kamalavarman (about 900 A.D.). The mint-marks of Sāmantadeva's *visargānta* coins and those bearing simple legend are similar, and this leaves no doubt about the issuers of both types possessed the same mints and that they were one individual.

The coins belonging to the reign of Sāmantadeva are in large numbers and variety.[55] His silver coins, a little more debased than the silver coins of Spalapatideva,[56] may be taken to indicate the unprosperous condition of the royal treasury after Yaqub's raid. The find of the coins of Sāmantadeva from Punjab to Kabul, and Europe and U.S S.R. not only indicates his widespread kingdom but also the trade through which the coins circulated very widely. His coins were in such demand that debased counterfeits were made well after his death.[57]

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[55] For his coins, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 199 f.

[56] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 211 f.

[57] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 200, 212.

It seems to have been in the second reign period of Sāmantadeva that a branch of the Shāhi power grew at Udabhāṇḍapura. Kalhaṇa mentions king named Lalliya, who, having alliances with the Gurjara king Alakhāna and others, was growing in power when Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.) was king of Kashmir.[58] Probably Lalliya held sway over Punjab in the latter half of the second reign of Sāmantadeva and the latter king was ousted by the former in about 883 A.D. as we infer from the information given by Kalhaṇa that Lalliya's kingdom lay between the Turushkas and Daradas.[59] This would only have been possible if Lalliya was ruling over the whole of the Shāhi kingdom of Punjab and Afghanistan in about 883-902 A.D.. the pericd of Śaṅkaravarman. In the light of this, it may be suggested that the rise of Lalliya occurred in about 880 A.D. and he captured the region upto Kabul by about 883 A.D.

LALLIYA

As we learn from Kalhaṇa, Lalliya was the first Shāhi king ruling from Udabhāṇdapura.[60] No earlier Shāhi king is mentioned by name in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. We have referred to about his early career, when he rose to power at Udabhāṇdapura in about 880-883 A.D. The dynasty to which Lalliya belonged was perhaps of the Hindu Shāhis as we see that the other rulers of Udabhāṇḍapura in Kalhaṇa's work--Kamalu(ka), Bhīma and Trilochanapāla, are those who are referred to in the Alberūnī's list of the Hindu Shāhiya kings.

By the time of the reign of Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.) Lalliya's kingdom extended from the Turushkas to the

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[58] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 152-155.

[59] *loc. cit.*

[60] Lalliya has been improperly identified with the Kallar of Alberūnī's list. For detailed comment, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 115 f.

Daradas and the region of Punjab.[61] His friendly relations with the Gurjara king Alakhāna and other kings of Northern India, was the main reason, as revealed from Kalhaṇa's narration, causing to which he was able to control over the Shāhi kingdom and aroused enmity with the king of Kashmir. There seems a probability of Lalliya's attempt to capture some of the kingdom of Śaṅkaravarman in cooperation with the Gurjara king. In such a political condition Śaṅkaravarman would have 'desired to remove Lalliya from his sovereign position'.[62] H.C. Ray has rightly concluded that the fruitless efforts of Śaṅkaravarman are referred to in a political way by Kalhaṇa and in the violent death of the Utpala king in the hills of Uraśā (modern Hazara district), not very far from the Shāhi capital, the hidden hands of the Shāhis may well be imagined.[63]

The alliance of Lalliya with the Gurjaras and others is viewed by H.C. Ray as a response to the raids of the Arabs.[64] However, after the march of Yaqub no martial activities towards India on the part of the Muslims is recorded and whatever Amr ibn Laith did is an event of post-Lalliya period. All that one may conclude from the words of Kalhaṇa is that the 'support' of the Gurjara king was utilised in expanding the power and extending the kingdom upto the Turushkas and Daradas.[65] This friendship of the Shāhis and Gurjaras is worth stressing, but not to the extent of the view o B. Prakash that the influence of Mihira Bhoja (*circa* 836 to 885 A.D.) reached as far as Kabul.[66]

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[61] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 152-155.

[62] *loc. cit.*

[63] *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[64] *loc. cit.*

[65] C. V. Vaidya concludes from the verses under reference, 'That Lalliya took refuge with Alakhāna, king of the Gurjaras of the Punjab. And Kashmir retained possession of Kabul for some time' (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 210).

[66] *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, Agra, 1965, p. 158.

No coins of Lalliya are known. A probable reason may be that his coins were issued in the name of Sāmantadeva, whom he gradually seems to have overpowered. But this suggestion is an insufficient explanation.

The end of Lalliya's reign is supposed to have been due to a rebellious Shāhi referred to by Kalhaṇa.[67] This rebellious Shāhi is identified by M.A. Stein witn Sāmand of Alberūnī and Sāmantadeva of the coins.[68] This identification is also followed by C.V. Vaidya,[69], H.C. Ray[70] and B. Prakash.[71] Vaidya is of the opinion that the Shāhi king of subordinate position rebelled against Kashmir at the time of Gopālavarman and was suppressed by his minister Prabhākaradeva, who bestowed the kingdom upon Lalliya's son. These opinions are based on a twisted interpretation of Kalhaṇa. The chronicler refers to the vanquishing of the Shāhi kingdom at Udabhāṇḍapura and the kingdom of the rebellious Shāhi being bestowed upon Toramāṇa, who was son of Lalliya.[72] If the expedition of Prabhākaradeva is viewed in the background of the violent death of Śaṅkaravarman in a region very near to the kingdom of the Shāhis, whose hidden hands in it are to be suspected, it becomes clear that the expedition by the widow Sugandhā, who was acting as the guardian of the minor king Gopālavarman, was just an act of revenge. Thus, there is every possibility of the facts being narrated in a politic way. The Shāhi kingdom was not vanquished by Prabhākaradeva, as Kamalavarman was already on the throne at the time of his expedition.[73] In this way, the information that Kamalavarman received the kingdom from

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[67] *Rājataraṅginī*, V. 223.

[68] *Kalhaṇa's Rājatagṅginī*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. II, p. 336.

[69] *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 164 and 201.

[70] *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[71] *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[72] *Rājataraṅginī*, V. 232-233.

[73] Cf. *Infra*, p. 92 f.

Prabhākaradeva is also false. Probably Prabhākaradeva, though he attempted to vanquish the Shāhis to revenge the former king's death, was not successful. The inclination of the Shāhis towards the Gurjaras may have been also a reason, but certainly it was not the only reason for which Prabhākaradeva attacked them. Probably it was the unsuccess of Prabhākaradeva that he was asked by Sugandhā to give the account of treasury as that to assess the expenditure on the expedition.[74]

A. Cunningham considered that the rebellious Shāhi was Lalliya.[75] However, Kalhaṇa describes him in an ambiguous way without mentioning his name.

KAMALAVARMAN

The son of Lalliya, whose name was Toramāṇa, was renamed Kamaluka at the time of his accession, according to Kalhaṇa.[76] However, his information that the name Kamaluka and the Shāhi kingdom was bestowed upon him by Prabhākaradeva, a ministar of Gopṇlavarman of Kashmir, is totally to be rejected as discussed below. Scholars have identified this Shāhi king with the Kamalū of Alberūnī's list.[77] Coins bearing the legend *Kamala* or *Kamaladeva* (?) are ascribed to this king.[78] According to Alberūnī, Kamalū preceded Bhīma.[79] His statement seems to be corroborated by an inscription from Dewai which mentions the name of the father of Bhīmadeva as Kamalavarman.[80] Thus there need be no hesitation in identifying the father of Bhīmadeva as the son of Lalliya. The king Kamalū referred to by the Muslim historians as the contemporary and opponent of Faradaghan, the governor of Zabulistan in the reign of the Saffarid Amr ibn Laith (879-900 A.D.)[81] is chronologically very near to the Kamaluka (about 902-904 A.D.) of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. According to H.C. Ray, this involves a correction by a few years of the date of Gopālavarman (902-4 A.D.) as given by Kalhaṇa.[82] However, it is more reasonable to take the information of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* as being to some extent ambiguous and inaccurate as from the above it is quite clear that Kamalavarman was on the throne when the Saffarids penetrated the Indian land a second time, i.e. in or before 900 A.D. The information from the Muslim source completely rules out the probability of Kamalavarman's accession taking place after the date of the accession of Gopālavarman of Kashmir.[83]

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[74] *Rājatarṅgiṇī*, V. 238.

[75] *CMI*, p. 57.

[76] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 233.

[77] He has been improperly identified with the Khvadavayaka of coins. For detailed comment, Cf. *Supra*, p. 87, f.n. 54.

[78] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 197 f. ; also *Supra*, p. 87, f.n. 54.

[79] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[80] Cf. *Infra*, p. 164, Inscription No. 1.

The shortage of the coins of Kamalavarman and reference to Sāmantadeva on the unique gold coin of Bhīmadeva, suggesting that the two kings were connected, do not allow us to put Bhīmadeva long after 900 A.D. ; thus the period of the rule of Kamalavarman was a short one.[84] Taking him as a contemporary of Gopālavarman we can suggest his reign to have ended no later than about 905 A.D.

The Muslim attack, as far as can be gathered from the *Jāmi-ul-Hikāyāt*, only affected the North-Western fringe of the kingdom. The Muslims would have attacked the Shāhis as the power of illustrious Lalliya had ended. Faradaghan was successful in demolishing the temple of Sakāvant.[85] There is no indication of the march of Muslims towards Kabul.

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[81] H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[82] *op. cit.*, p. 77, f.n. 3.

[83] B. Prakash concludes that the Prabhākaradeva's success over the Shāhis 'obviously implied the spread of the influence, of Kaśmīra in place of that of the Pratihāras over the Śāhi kingdom' (*op. cit.*, p. 161).

[84] H.M. Elliot dates Kamalū in about 890 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p 424) which is invalidated by his identification with Kamalū, the opponent of Amr. The date suggested by A. Cunningham is more than one, 925-950 A.D. (*ASI*, *R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 82), 900-920 A.D. (*NC*, third series, Vol. XIII. 1893, p. 196 chart) and 940-945 A.D. (*CMI*, p. 62 chart). H.C. Ray provides him a date about 900-940 A.D. (*op. cii.*, pp. 78 and 103 Genealogical Table).

BHĪMADEVA

According to Alberūnī, Bhīma was the successor of Kamalū.[86] These kings are identified with the Bhīmadeva and Kamalavarman of the Dewai stone inscription.[87] The silver coins of Bhīmadeva are ascribed by numismatists to the same name king.[88] There are references to one Bhīma Śāhi, the ruler of Udabhāṇḍapura, in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa.[89] The identifications of the Bhīma Śāhī with Bhīmadeva, originally a suggestion by M.A. Stein[90] suits the information of Alberūnī from the chronological point of view and is accepted on all hands. The Shāhi king was the maternal grandfather of Queen Diddā, wife of Kshemagupta, the king of Kashmir (950-958 A.D.).[91] Taking Diddā into account, Stein suggested that the date of Bhīmadeva's reign cannot be pushed back beyond 920 A.D.[92] However, recent opinion would date the birth of Diddā in *circa* 928 A.D.[93] If at this time her mother's age was about 15 years, Bhīmadeva would have been married before A.D. 915 when he must have attained the age of about 20 years. Thus the birth date of Bhīmadeva may be suggested as *circa* 895 A.D.[94] In this way he would have succeeded his father in *circa* 905 A.D.[95] when he was only 10 years old. From Kalhaṇa's chronicle it is quite clear that Bhīmadeva was alive when Diddā was married to Kshemagupta.[96] But a new ruler was on the Shāhi throne in the time of Abhimanyu (958-72 A.D.).[97] Thus we propose to date the end of the reign of Bhīmadeva tentatively in *circa* 957 A.D.[98]

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[85] H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 172; *Tārīkh-i-Sīstān*, pp. 215 ff. For geographical position of Sakāvanta, Cf. *Supra*, pp. 31 f.

[86] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[87] For inscription, Cf. *Infra*, p. 164, Inscription No. 1.

[88] For his coins, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 194 ff.

[89] VII. 1081; VI. 178.

[90] *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth. Zum Doctor-Jubileaum*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 201; also *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 249 note; *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 337.

[91] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 178.

[92] *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth. Zum Doctor-Jubileaum*, p. 201.

[93] Y. Mishra, 'Chronology of Queen Diddā of Kashmir', paper read in the XXXI Session of Indian History Congress, held at Varanasi, 1969.

[94] D.C. Ganguli has calculated the date to about 900 A.D (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar and others, Bombay, 1964, p. 113).

From the above discussion it is clear that when Bhīmadeva came to the throne, there was fear from the sides of the Muslims of Ghazni and the Kashmirians. The remembrance of Sāmantadeva by Bhīmadeva on the unique gold issue is most probably to be related to some Muslim raids in the time of Bhīmadeva, when the illustrious Sāmantadeva, who once drove the Muslims out of his kingdom,[99] was remembered.

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[95] A. Cunningham once suggested a date 950 A.D. for Bhīmadeva's accession (*ASI, R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 82), and later on 920 A.D. (*NC.*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 196 chart). He finally dated the succession of Bhīmadeva in 945 A.D. (*CMI*, p. 62 chart). C.V. Vaidya (*op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 201) and H.C. Ray (*op. cit.*, p. 103) accept the date of succession to be 940 A.D. The coins of Bhīmadeva are dated by D.W. MacDowall in about 955 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 212) taking the commencement of the reign in 950 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 211). However, neither we are able to identify Kamalū with Khvadavayaka so to agree with any of the dates of Cunningham nor to delete Khvadavayaka to agree with Vaidya or Ray. MacDowall's acceptance of 950 A.D. is not supported by any reference to show the grounds on which the date in question is arrived at.

[96] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 176-178.

[97] *ibid.*, VI. 231-232.

[98] A. Cunningham gave 25 years of reign period (*ASI, R* 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 82; *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 196 chart) while dating the accession in 950 or 920 A.D., but only 5 years when he dated the accession in about 945 A.D. (*CMI*, p. 62 chart), C.V. Vaidya gave 20 years (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 201), H.C. Ray, 25 years (*op. cit.*, p. 103) and D.W. MacDowall is to give only 8 years (*op. cit.*, p. 211). To give 20 to 25 years of reign period to the members of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty was a suggestion just to make out a rough chronology going back from the known dates of Bhīmapāla, Trilochanapāla and Ānandapāla. The reign period of 5 years is actually guided by the date of Jayapāla's accession in *circa* 950 A.D. However, what was the ground to take 8 years of his rule is not clearly stated by MacDowall.

[99] The opinion of A. Ghose that the gold coin was issued in commemoration of Sāmantadeva who abdicted in the favour of Bhīmadeva (NC, sixth series, Vol. XII, 1952 pp. 134 f.) is untenable because of the fact that the predecessor of Bhīmadeva was Kamalavarman and not Sāmantadeva (Cf. also D.W. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, p. 212, f.n. 1).

(*Contd. on page* 96)

That there were friendly relations between Bhīmadeva and Kashmir after the marriage of Diddā is shown by the Bhīmakeśava temple constructed by the Shāhi king.[100] It is quite evident from the Kashmir chronicle [101] that the temple was constructed after the marrige of Diddā. Besides the importance that the Vaishṇava temple under reference reveals about the religious faith of Bhīmadeva, it also evidences the political achievements of the Shāhi ruler. We have referred above to the fear to the Shāhis on the part of Kashmir. By marrying his daughter to Siṁharāja, the king of Lohara, [102] Bhīmadeva sought a friend on the northern border of his kingdom and with the relationship of his daughter's daughter with the king of Kashmir he sought an opportunity to get favour from Kashmir, and for that he built a temple in that country.[301] This friendly relationship occupies an important place in Shāhi politics. From the Khajuraho stone inscription of the Chandela king Yaśovarman we infer that there was an invasion of the Shāhi land (Kulūta area) by the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla(*circa* 914-944 A.D.).[104] Thus it was this pressure which led Bhīmadeva to seek friendly relations with Kashmir and perhaps due to this political development Mahīpāla did not march ahead from the kingdom of

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(*Contd. from page 95*)

However, the suggestion of MacDowall to take Sāmantadeva as a title, as we have already discussed (Cf. *Supra*, p. 86, f.n. 46) is not sound. If the legend on the reverse of the gold coin be read as '*Śrīmada (gata) Śrī Sāmantadeva*, we find a clear reference to Sāmantadeva as deceased.

100. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 178 ; VII. 1081-1082. For the location of temple, Cf. M.A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 249 f.

101. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 176-178.

102. *ibid.*, VI. 176.

103. To agree with the opinions of scholars that it was the influence and power enjoyed by the Shāhis in Kashmir (M.A. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 249 note ; H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 78) will be a little more to deduce from the evidence referred to.

104. *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 129, verse 43. *Kailāsādbhoṭanāthaḥ suhṛiditi cha tataḥ Kīrarājaḥ prapede, Sāhistasmādavāpa dvipaturagabalenānu Herambapālaḥ.*

Kīra (modern Kangra). We also learn from Rājaśekhara, the court poet of Mahīpāla, that Kulūta(Kullu valley) formed the northern most part of the kingdom of Mahīpāla.[105] Thus the reference to the Shāhis in the Chandela inscription is only due to the fact that Kangra was under their influence.[106]

The influence of the Shāhis over Kangra in the time of Bhīmadeva is not only borne out of the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman[107] but also from the place named Bhīma Nagara, identified with Nagarkot in the Kangra valley, which got its name from Bhīmadeva.[108]

The coins of Bhīmadeva, though small in number, found from the Kabul area prove his hold over that region.

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[105] *Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava*, ed. by C. Cappeller, Strassburg, 1885, I. 7. *Ajani jita Kulūtaḥ Kuntalānāṁ kuthāro haṭhahitaramaṭhaśrīḥ Śrī Mahīpāladevaḥ.*

From an indirect evidence also the region of Kulūta seems to have been under the sway of Mahīpāla. There is a reference to Sahiladeva, who was alive in about 936-46 A.D., in an inscription of Soma and Āsata of Chamba (1056-66 A.D.), whose power was acknowledged by the Kīra, Trigarta and Kulūta kings and who broke the large force of the Turushkas inflicting wounds on them (*JPHS*, Vol. X, No 2, 1921, pp. 5 ff.). The date of Sahiladeva makes him contemporary of Mahīpāla. And thus there is no way to explain the fight of Sahiladeva with the Turuskhas except that he should have accompanied Mahīpāla who is recorded to have marched up to Ramatha, a locality near Ghazni.

[106] However, B. Prakash concludes, with the supporting reference from the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara and *Chaṇḍakauśika* of Āryakshemiśvara (out of these the former work includes the Himalayan region in the kingdom of Mahīpāla and the latter expresses the good wishes, 'the glory of Mahīpāla may spread in the Northern regions even beyond the ocean of milk'), that Mahīpāla won the striking victories over the Shāhis (*op. cit.*, pp. 163 ff.) and to that he connects the statement found in *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* that Udabhāṇḍapura (Waihand) was a dependency of Kanauj (*ibid.*, p. 165). Out of the three references quoted above only the last one refers to the Shāhis in a quite clear way while the first two refer to nothing definite and certainly not to the Shāhis. While utilising the information of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* one should always bear in mind that this work dates to 982-83 A.D. and in any way the information from this work to support the event, which happened not less than 45 years before, should not be utilised decisively.

[107] *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 129, verse 43....*Kīrarājaḥ prapede, Sāhi...*

[108] Cf. *Supra*, p. 40.

From the above it is quite understandable that Bhīmadeva should claim the status of paramountcy in North-Western India and was rightly adorned with the title *Paramabhaṭ(ṭ)āraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*,[109] Bhīmadeva was imaginatively identified with the famous Bhīma the Pāṇḍava as indicated by his title *Gadāhasta*[110] (one who holds the mace).

THAKKANA

After the death of Bhīmadeva the relations of the Shāhis and Kashmir seem to have worsened. We find a Shāhi ruler Thakkana to have been defeated by Yaśodhara, the commander-in-chief of the time of Abhimanyu (958-72 A.D.), son of Diddā[111] According to M.A. Stein, this Shāhi king was a 'small chief in the neighbouring hill region claiming descent from the great Shāhi family of Kabul and Gandhāra'.[112] H.C. Ray considers him a ruler whom Alberūnī perhaps failed to record in his list of the Hindu Shāhi kings.[113] But the scholar has neither included him in the genealogical list of the Shāhis nor ascribed any reign period to him.[114] However, Kalhaṇa states that the appellation Śāhi was used for the Kshatriyas,[115] especially belonging to a distinguished dynasty.[116] Not only those Shāhi kings or princes who took refuge in Kashmir are given the appellation under reference,[117] but also the kings named Lalliya and Bhīmadeva are mentioned from time to time by this appellation only.[118] The only exception is Vidyādhara, who did not belong to the dynasty of Uda-

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109 Cf. *Infra*, p. 214, Inscription No. 1, text lines 2-4.

110. *loc. cit.*

111. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. VI. y. 230-231.

112. *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 255 note.

113. *op. cit* , p. 78 f.

114. *ibid.*, p. 103.

115. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII. 3230.

116. *ibid.*, VII. 274, 956.

117. *ibid.*, VII. 144, 178, 274.

118. *ibid.*, V. 233 ; VI. 177.

bhāṇḍapura, but is adorned with the Śāhi title and is mentioned by Kalhaṇa, with ample precautions, as a Darada ruler.[119] Thus, in the light of the above references we may consider Thakkana to have belonged to the royal dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura. The description of the country of Thakkana, being difficult of access on account of its streams and mountains,[120] which led M.A. Stein to consider him a chief of some hill region,[121] if viewed from the side of Kashmir, fully fits to the northern part of the Shāhi kingdom. According to B. Prakash, Thakkana was a Shāhi ruler of Udabhāṇḍapura who was quickly eliminated from memory because of his short and inglorious rule, eclipsed by the long and brilliant epoch of Jayapāla, and consequently he could not find any place in the annals of historians, except Kalhaṇa, who was particularly interested in the history of Kashmir.[122]

Thakkana, for reasons unknown, was not friendly with Kashmir.[123] His relationship to Bhīmadeva is also not clear. He may not have been the son of Bhīmadeva and may have managed to succeed to the throne with the help of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and this would have been the reason why Diddā was encouraged to plan an expedition against Thakkana. The Shāhi ruler was defeated by Yaśodhara, the Kashmirian commander-in-chief, but was reinstalled on the throne after giving tribute and homage.[124] The news of his reinstallation by Yaśodhara was conveyed to Diddā who was told that it was an act of treachery in response to a bribe taken by the commander-in-chief from the Shāhi ruler.[125] Such was the interpretation, according to Kalhaṇa, of some wicked persons who wanted to arouse enmity in the queen against the commander,[126] as a result of which Yaśodhara was punished.[127] However, this judgment seems to come from the side of Kalhaṇa that it was due to the rumours circulated by the wicked persons that Yaśodhara was punished. The punishment was probably given because commander followed a conciliatory policy which was actually not desired by Diddā as there was no certainty of Thakkana's remaining loyal to Kashmir.

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[119] *ibid.*, VII. 913.

[120] *ibid.*, VI. 231.

[121] Stein has also referred to a Thakkana named relative of Ananta (*Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 255 note) while dealing with the Shāhi Thakkana. However, no relation could be sought in between Thakkana, the Shāhi and the relative of Ananta.

[122] *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[123] B. Prakash proposed 'What appears likely is that, after the victory of Mahipāla, the Shāhi ruler (Bhīmadeva), transferred his alliance from Kashmir to the Pratīhāras. The next ruler Thakkana also toed this policy and clashed with Kashmir. (*loc. cit.*). However, we have discussed above that Bhīmadeva was unaffected from the Pratihāra power and thus the reasons would have been different due to which Kashmira lunched an expedition against Thakkana.

[124] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI, 232.

While discussing the dates for Bhīmadeva we have referred to Yaśodhara's expedition as dated about 958 A. D. Thus with the probability that Thakkana usurped the throne just after Bhīmadeva and that he was on throne even after the expediation of Yaśodhara, we may propose a reign period of 5 years (i.e. *circa* 957-962 A. D.) if Ishṭapāla, the father of Jayapāla, is taken not to have ruled. In 963 A. D. Jayapāla was on the throne.[128] If the proposed dates be accepted, the intrusions into India by Alptigin in *circa* 961 A. D.[129] would have encountered by Thakkana. However, we do not know much about the nature of his inroads.

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[125] *ibid.*, VI. 236.

[126] *ibid.*, VI. 233.

[127] *ibid.*, VI. 237. The utilization of money by Kashmirian commanders for the personal purposes at the time of expeditions is not only evidenced by this case of bribe but also from the insistence of Gopālavarman on the inspection of the treasury-chests after the expedition of Prabhākaradeva against Kamalavarman, when the minister sought a way to escape the suspicion of misappropriation of funds by saying 'that all that was missing in the treasury had been spent on the expedition against the Shāhi.

[128] Cf. *Infra*, 101 f.

[129] Cf. C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 37; also M. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaza*, Cambridge, 1931, 26.

ISHTAPĀLA

The father of the Jayapāla is known to us from the *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, where his name is recorded as Ishṭapāla.[130] The Indian rendering of the name was proposed to be Ashṭapāla by A. Cunningham,[131] but the suggestion of H. C. Ray to render it as Ishṭapāla[132] is nearer to the name given by Firishta.

Whether Ishṭapāla was ever actually on the throne,[133] whether or not he was a descendant of Bhīmadeva or Thakkana is not specifically known. However, since the name of his son ends in deva,[134] he may be taken to be related with Bhīmadeva, probably as his son and contemporary of Thakkana.

Quite probably, Thakkana not only usurped the throne after Bhīmadeva, but also murdered the heir, who was perhaps Ishṭapāla. And it is this reason that within five years of the accession of Thakkana, when a change of rule came, it was the son of Ishṭapāla who came to the throne.

JAYAPĀLADEVA

If Firishta is to be believed, Jayapāla was on the throne when Sabuktigin marched up to Lamghan in the lifetime of Alptigin,[135] who died in 963 A.D. Alptigin had occupied

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[130] H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 425, f.n. 3. J. Briggs wrongly records 'Hutpāl'. The manuscripts published from Lucknow (1864 edition Vol. I, p. 19) and Bombay (1831 edition, Vol. I, p. 32) clearly record the name 'Ishtpāl', Cf. also H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 79, f.n. 2.

[131] *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 189.

[132] *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[133] A. Cunningham proposed a reign period of 925-950 A.D. while writing a second time on the history of the Shāhis (*NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 196 chart) and while writing a third time, a reign period of 930-940 A.D. (*CMI*, p. 62 chart). However, the proposals are only based on the reference in Firishta where he is not mentioned as a king in a specific manner.

[134] Jayapāladeva of the Barikot inscription. For inscription. Cf. *Infra*, p. 217, Inscription No. 2.

[135] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 9

Ghazni in that very year. So, the march of Sabuktigin should be dated in 963 A.D. Thus we propose to date the accession of Jayapāladeva in *circa* 962 A.D.[136] The march of Sabuktigin must be viewed as a part of Alptigin's planning, which he conceived in 961 A.D. Firishta states that Jayapāla was supported by Sheikh Hamīd Lodī, the king of Multan, and Vijayarāja, the ruler of Bhatiya.[137] But by a shrewd diplomatic move, dissolving the combination of the three powers, Hamīd Lodī was detached from the side of Jayapāla and Sabuktigin succeeded in defeating the Shāhi king.[138]

Jayapāla is known to us from the Muslim sources and his Barikot inscription. It is the latter source which gives the name of the king as Jayapāladeva. No Shāhi title is prefixed[139] though we have suggested that he was probably the grandson of Bhīmadeva, taking Ishṭapāla as the son of Bhīmadeva.[140] But the dropping of the title Shāhi in the inscription of Jayapāla is not explainable, whereas the rest of his royal title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja... Śrī* is common to both Bhīmadeva and Jayapāladeva.

It is not evident that Jayapāla made any attempt to overcome Thakkana but its probability may well be suggested. We have seen how Jayapāla was engaged in battle against the Muslims when he came to the throne, and it is revealed from the Muslim historians that he was busy with them till his death. It has been quite rightly remarked that 'the history of Jayapāla and his successors is practically speaking, the history of long drawn struggle with the Muslim power at Ghazni.[141]

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[136] This date of Jayapāla is suggested by A. Cunningham, but on the basis of assigning approximately 25 years of reign period to each of the Hindu Shāhi king mentioned by Alberūnī and dating back from the known date 1000 A.D. of Ānandapāla (*ASI*, *R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 82). However, later on he dated the accession in *circa* 950 A.D. (*NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 196 chart ; *CMI*, p. 62 chart). C.V. Vaidya dates it in *circa* 960 A.D. giving 20 years to each of the kings of Alberūnī's list (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 201). The date proposed by H.C. Ray is *circa* 965 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 103) taking Jayapāla as a contemporary of Sabuktigin who would have come to the throne after Alptigin who ruled from 933 to 963 A.D. (Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 80 *f.*)

[137] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 f.

[138] Cf. H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f. and 81.

[139] For inscription, Cf. *Infra*, p. 217, Inscription No. 2.

[140] Cf. *Supra*, p. 101. M. Nazim considers Jayapāla as son of Bhīmadeva (*op. cit.*, p. 198).

Jayapāla is believed to have aided Abū Alī Lāwik in 973 A.D., when the latter was invited to invade Ghazni where a slave of Alptigin named Pirāi (or Pirī or Piritigin) was ruling. But the joint army of Lāwik and Jayapāla was defeated by Sabuktigin. A large number of prisoners and ten elephants were taken to Ghazni.[142]

When Sabuktigin became the ruler of Ghazni in 977 A.D. the kingdom of Jayapāla seems to have become his main target. He endeavoured to desolate the territories of Jayapāla[143] and conquered many forts.[144] The danger was realised by the Indian king and, accompanied with many chiefs, he marched towards Ghazni through Lamghan.[145] Sabuktigin encountered him at a place called Nimal,[146] in between Lamghan and Ghazni, and the battle lasted for several days. It is inferred from 'Utbī that negotiations for peace were made from both the sides, at first from the side of Jayapāla and later on from the side of the Muslims, but neither side was agreeable. As a result of this the Hindus were defeated. Lamghan was conquered and annexed.[147] According to M. Nazim this battle was fought in 986-7 A.D.[148]

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[141] D.C. Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[142] H.G. Raverty, *op. cit.*, p. 73, f.n. 7; W. Haig, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Delhi, 1950 reprint, p. 12 : D.C. Ganguli, *The struggle for Empire*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar and others, Bombay, 1966, p. 3 ; M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 27. However, the Muslim chronicles differ regarding the history of Ghazni as reconstructed in the volumes referred to.

[143] *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, trans. by B. Dey, Calcutta, 1913, p. 3.

[144] *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, Extract trans. by S.R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Sholapur, 1956, p. 34.

[145] *loc. cit.*, For the geographical position of Lamghan Cf. *Supra*, p. 35

[146] Tradition says that the battle was fought at this place (Cf. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 66, f.n. 2). M. Habib opines, 'The tradition is probably correct. A large army encamped on the banks of Kabul river would find it difficult to proceed beyond Nimal ; and an army marching from Ghazni to Lamghan would meet the enemy's advance guard near this spot' (*loc. cit.*).

It is evident from the Muslim historians that Jayapāla made a determined effort to re-establish his hold over Lamghan. Though Nizāmuddīn does not mention the names of the Indian kings,[149] Firishta informs that the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj joined Jayapāla in his mission of driving out the Muslims from Lamghan.[150] With a large army of about one lakh and many elephants Jayapāla fought with Sabuktigin in the neighbourhood of Lamghan. However, defeat came to Jayapāla.[151]

The defeat of Jayapāla seems to have roused Bharata, the king of Lahore, to invade the kingdom of the Shāhis.[152] Ānandapāla, the son of Jayapāla, defeated the king of Lahore and on the request of the notables of the town he reinstated Bharata as a tributary king. After the return of Ānandapāla, Bharata was deposed by his son Chandradatta, who was hostile towards Jayapāla. By a clever attempt, Ānandapala prisoned Chandradatta while he went far into the jungle for hunting. The kingdom of Lahore was annexed (999 A.D.).[153]

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[147] *ibid.*, pp. 35 f.

[148] *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[149] B. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[150] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 18. The powers in coalition referred to are incorrectly recorded as Delhi and Ajmer were not of so import in those days (Cf. C.V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 26). However, we may think that the local rulers of these places would have sent armies. See also *Infra*, p. 107, f.n. 165.

[151] The above mentioned historians deal with this battle and state that it was a result of the imprisonment of the officials of Sabuktigin who were sent to take charge of the ceded forts and towns. However, the translation of 'Utbī's work given by S.R. Sharma presents the battle as due to the imprisonment of the officals in continuation of the first battle. The officials were sent to inform Jayapāla that his request of putting an end to blood-shot would be accepted by Sabuktigin on conditions. In light of this, the causes of the second battle seem to have been misinterpreted. It must have been due to the attempts of Jayapāla to recover his lost territories. Only one fight of Jayapāla with Sabuktigin is also justified from the statement of Firishta that he was twice over-powered by stranger *i.e.* by Sabuk and Mahmūd (J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

[152] M. Nazim dates in about 991 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 195).

After the battle of Lamghan Jayapāla had again to battle with the Muslims. In about 1000 A.D., according to later Muslim historians, Mahmūd was able to capture some forts lying west of the Indus.[154] The Muslim invader encamped at Peshawar with 10,000 or 15,000 soldiers,[155] thinking that Indian king would not resist him. But, as 'Utbī says, with the news that Jayapāla ventured to oppose, the battle started.[156] The authorities agree that Jayapāla with his 30,000 infantry, 12,000 horses and 300 elephants met Mahmūd on the 27th November, 1001 A.D. However, for all his good efforts victory did not favour Jayapāla. This was his most ignominious defeat at the hands of Muslims. It is said that 5,000 Hindus were killed and Jayapāla, with all his family members, relatives and confidants, was made prisoner. They were humiliated and their valuable necklaces were taken off.[157] Peace was concluded on a heavy ransom and his son was detained as hostage till the conditions should be fulfilled.[158]

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[153] *Ādūb-ulMulūk wa Kifāyat ul Mamlūk* of Muhammad bin Manṣūr, Cf. *JARS*, 1927, pp. 486 ff. ; also M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

[154] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ; B. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[155] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 and 37. Gardīzī in his *Kitāb Zainul Akbar* records 10,000 soldiers and 'Utbī gives the number 15,000.

[156] *ibid.*, p. 37.

[157] M. Nazim notice din Gardīzī's account that 15 sons and grandsons of Jayapāla were taken prisoner (*op. cit.*, p. 87). However, S.R. Sharma reads brothers instead of grandsons (*op. cit.*, pp. 23 and 32, f.n. 5).

The information of 'Unṣurī and Minhāj that Jayapāla was sent to Marand, somewhere in Khurasan (Cf. M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 87). seems to be incorrect in the light of the facts that Udabhāṇḍapura was raided after this when the peace, ransom and release of Jayapāla were already concluded (Cf. C.V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 32). 'The sale of Jayapāla' referred to by 'Unṣurī, meant only the fixing of the ransom (Cf. M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 87, f.n. 7).

[158] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 39. M. Nazim has noted one son and a grandson as hostages (*op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.).

Mahmud's expedition to Waihand (Udabhāṇḍapura)[159] was in continuation of the Peshawar expedition.[160] From 'Utbī we learn that Mahmūd had to face resistance put by the people even after the forced entry of the Muslims into the city.[161]

However, the sack of Udabhāṇḍapura after a peace concluded with Jayapāla makes no sense. Either the capital city was only raided without success or the peace with Jayapāla was made after the expedition of the capital.

When Jayapāla was released he returned to his territories troubled and worried by the humiliation he had to undergo, and declared himself not worthy to sit on the throne in a letter to his son, while he embraced a pious death by throwing his body as an oblation into the sacred fire.[162]

Thus, the whole of the reign of Jayapāla was full of hardships and battles. He stood against the Muslims with great valour, but he was unfortunate. As a king Jayapāla was not only devoted to martial activities but also to righteous deeds and learning. From the Barikot inscription we gather that in his reign some foundation was laid at Vajīrasthāna by some persons, probably Brāhmaṇas.[163] The famous grammarian Ugrabhūti was at the court of Jayapāla to teach his son.[164]

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[159] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The later compilations wrongly noted the name of the city as Bathnid which was identified by H.G. Raverty with Bhatinda, however, both 'Utbī and Gardīzī have Waihand (For detailed comments, Cf. *Supra*, p. 31, 'Bathind', *Supra*, p. 41). The wrong rendering and its identification led V.A. Smith to take Jayapāla as a king of the Patiala region in Punjab (*The Early History of India*, 4rh edition, Oxford, 1962 reprint, pp. 396 f.), which is too far away to have been penetrated by Mahmūd in so short a time.

[160] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 and 39.

[161] *ibid.*, p. 39.

[162] *loc. cit.*; J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 38. For the prevailing custom, Cf. *Infra*, Chapter VII, section 'Pious Death of Jayapāladeva'.

[163] For inscription, Cf. *Infra*, p. 217, Inscription No. 2.

[164] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 135. Alberūnī mentions Ugrabhūti as the teacher and instructor of Ānandapāla. The grammarian must have been appointed by Jayapāla for the purpose stated.

If the statement of Nizām ud-Dīn and Firishta be correct that Jayapāla managed to secure at least some help from the other kings, this may show his friendly relations with the other states.[165] Most probably only Kanauj sent its contingent to Jayapāla. This kingdom had long been friendly to the Shāhis and perhaps had sided Jayapāla to come to the throne against the successor of Thakkana who was under the domination of Kashmir. This reconstruction probably explains the statement found in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* that Jayapāla was under the orders of the Rajā of Kanauj[166] and that Kashmir, though under the control of Diddā who was the grand-daughter of the Shāhi king Bhīmadeva, was just a spectator of the devastation of the Shāhi glory.[167] The kings of Multan and Bhatiya were his friends and might have supported the cause of Jayapāla.[168]

The kingdom of Jayapāla, according to Firishta, extended from Sirhind to Lamghan and Kashmir to Multan.[169] His residence was Udabhāṇḍapura (Waihand). The chronicler calls Jayapāla the king of Lahore which must be the city annexed by Ānandapāla from Chandradatta.[170] Mohammad bin Manṣūr says that Jayapāla was king of Peshawar.[171]

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[165] B. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 3 ; J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 18.However out of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj the former two were not even in existence and the latter two were rivals. The possibility remains in the case of the last one only which was friendly with the Shāhis for other reasons. The Chandela Dhaṅga, who is said to have fought with Hammīr in one of his inscriptions *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, pp. 218 ff., Mahoba Fragmentary Inscription, verse 17), may have been the representative of the king of Kanauj. Firishra has either exaggerated or presumed it on the evidence that Trilochanapāla tried to get help from some of the other kingdoms. Quite probably, Firishta included all those who subsequently fought with the Muslims but failed.

[166] *Ḥudūd al'-Ālam*, trans. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, 1937, p. 91. B. Prakash has taken the evidence to show the Pratihāra overlordship on Jayapāla (*op. cit.*, p. 166).

[167] P.N.K. Bamzai's statement that Kashmir helped Jayapāla (*A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962, p. 285) is incorrect in lack of evidence.

[168] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[169] *ibid.*, p. 15.

ĀNANDAPĀLA

Ānandpāla, the son of Jayapāla,[172] was on the throne in 1006 A. D. when Mahmūd was marching towards Multan.[173] According to Firishta he was on the throne even in 1004 A.D. when Mahmūd marched to Bhatiya.[174] Ānandapāla may be identified with that son of Jayapāla to whom the latter wrote a letter after his release from Mahmūd's camp. Giving a sufficient number of days for Jayapāla's imprisonment and Mahmūd's expedition to Udabhāṇḍapura where he is said to have relaxed for some days after the battle of Peshawar fought on the 27th November 1001 A. D. , it seems that Ānandapāla would have succeeded his father in 1002 A. D. In his early career Ānandapāla would have not only fought with the Rājā of Lahore but also against the Muslims with his father.

From Firishta we learn that the king of Bhatiya refused to pay tribute to Ānandapāla.[175] The king of Bhatiya had been one of the supporters of Jayapāla. However, he may have taken advantage of the misfortune of Jayapāla and assumed hostile attitude.[176] From the same chronicler we learn that Mahmūd undertook his march of 1004 A. D. because the tribute from Hindustan had not been paid.[177] The refusal to pay tribute to Ānandapāla by the Bhatiya king and Mahmūd's march because of the non-payment of the tribute, has led H. C. Ray to reconstruct the position that it is not unlikely that Ānandapāla represented to the Sultāna that he was unable to pay anything so long as he was not paid by the Rājā of Bhera (Bhatiya).[178] Thus in a way Ānandapāla is blamed for having invited Mahmud to plunder Bhatiya. However, the alliance of Ānandapāla with Daūd, the ruler of Multan[179] and his refusal to give passage to Mahmūd to invade Multan,[180] show clearly that the attitude of the Shāhi king was not very favourable towards Mahmūd and thus it is not possible to conclude that he was to blame.

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[170] This Lahore cannot be identified with the Lahor village (Śālātura) situated not far from Hund (Udabhāṇḍa) as could be gathered from the expedition launched against Bharata and the annexation of the capital city from Chandradatta by Ānandapāla (Cf. also *Infra*, pp. 123 f.)

[171] *Ādāb-ul Mulūk wa Kifāvat-ul Mamlūk*, Cf. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 492.

[172] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 135 ; Vol. II, p. 13.

[173] S.R. Sharma. *op. cit.*, pp. 23 and 42.

[174] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[175] *loc. cit.*

[176] Cf. H.C. Ray *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[177] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

The objections put to Mahmūd by Ānandapāla provoked the Ghaznavid king and as a result they fought at Peshawar, where defeat was inflicted on the Shāhis.[181] While Mahmūd was in Multan Ilak Khān revolved in Central Asia and the former had to return to meet the latter, leaving the Indian territory under the governorship of Sukhapāla (Nawās Shāh).[182] to Alberūnī, According to Alberūnī, Ānandapāla offered himself to help Mahmūd against the Turks.[183] The offer was extended at the time when the relations between them were already strained to the utmost.[184] The letter sent by Ānandapāla is admired by Alberūnī, because even in such a position the Shāhi king offered his help to his conqueror. However, the revolt of Sukhapāla against Mahmūd and the expeditions launched by the Ghaznavid king against Sukhapāla and Ānandapāla in 1008 A. D.[185] may lead one to conclude that the help offered was a mere bluff, and a conspiracy to drive out the Muslims was formed, as a result of which Nawās Shāh returned to Hinduism declaring his independence with the help of Hindu leaders.[188] Thus, the admiration from the side of Alberūnī, which has led H. C. Ray to blame the Shāhi king,[187] is to be viewed in a totally different way. However, the policy ot Ānandapāla did not achieve success. Nawās Shāh was defeated in 1008 A. D. when Mahmūd was free from his struggles against the Turks of the Oxus valley. The Ghaznavid army was then in a position to subdue Ānandapāla.

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[178] *op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.

[179] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 40.

[180] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 42. According to M. Nazim, the event shows the peaceful relations of Mahmūd and Ānandapāla (*op. cit.*, p. 88, f.n. 7). However, it was a pretext and nothing more.

[181] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 f. and 42.

[182] *ibid.*, pp. 24 and 43. For details about Sukhapāla, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 119 f.

[183] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 13 f.

[184] *loc. cit.*

[185] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp, 24 and 43 f.

We have reference only in Firishta's work that Ānandapāla, like his father, sought assistance from the other kings of India. He was helped by his people in meeting the expenditure of war in every respect.[188] However, there is every possibility of exaggeration.

Mahmūd was opposed by a son of Ānandapāla named Brahmapāla, on the bank of Indus.[189] After a full day's fight with courage when success seemed about to smile upon the Shāhis, the rear of the arms was attacked and this resulted in the confusion and defeat of the Hindus. The prince had to retreat to Bhīma Nagara [100] The army of Mahmud also reached Bhīma Nagar where a furious fight took place.[191] Firishta gives a vivid account of the fight. He tells that the Khokhars slew many Muslims but the elephant of the Hindu prince became unruly, on account of the naphtha balls and

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186. *ibid.*, p. 43.

187. *op. cit.*, p. 90.

188. J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Firishta adds Ujjain and Gwalior to the list given before. We have already commented upon the genuineness of the information from Firishta (Cf, *Supra*, pp. 104, f.n. 149 and p. 136. f.n. 164). The kingdoms which were either not founded at the time or dependencies of some other power lend no strength to the statement. Gaṇḍadeva Chandela fought with Mahmūd but not as an ally of Ānandapāla (Cf. M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.).

189. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 44. M. Nazim takes the meeting place East of the Indus (*op. cit.*, p. 89). According to Firishta the battle was fought near Peshawar (J. Briggs, *op. cit.*. pp. 94 ff.).

190. For its geographical position. Cf. *Supra*, p. 40.

191. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 and 45.

arrows of the invaders, and brought the fight to an end in a defeat of the Hindus, who, seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled.[192] According to Gardīzī this fight ended after three days of heroic defence.[193]

M. Nazim has suggested that probably after the victory over Bhīma Nagara the whole strip of territory from the river Indus to the site of victory was annexed, but after the retreat of the Sultān the Shāhi king was able to establish his power in the Salt Range with Nandana as his headquarters.[194] However, Firishta informs us that in 1011-12 A.D. Ānandapāla gave hospitality to Mahmūd when the latter marched to devastate the temple of Chakrasvāmin (Jagarsom) at Thanesar. The Shāhi king also urged to Mahmūd not to harm the temple.[195] Thus it is more probable that Ānandapāla was a vassal king at this time.

Ānandapāla, like his father, was thus busy with wars throughout his life time. More than once he planned to restrict the growth of the Muslim power. But in the last days of his reign, he seems to have become a puppet in the hands of Mahmūd, which was perhaps the reason that he was praised by them. Most probably his son did not agree with his policy and took his position at Nardin (Nandana).[196] We know nothing about the end of his life.[197]

TRILOCHANAPĀLA

The son of Ānandapāla, named Trilochanapāla,[198] seems to have established himself at Nandana. After the defeat of

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192. J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
193. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.* p. 24.
194. *op. cit.* p. 91.
195. J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.
196. For geographical position, Cf. *Supra*, p. 40.
197. Historians have taken him as dying in about 1012-13 A.D. because we find Trilochanapāla fighting with Mahmūd in 1014. A.D.
198. E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*. Vol. II, pp. 13 f. Early historians wrongly call him Jayapāla II (Cf. H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 424 ; W. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

Bhīma Nagara Ānandapāla, adopted a friendly attitude towards the Muslims, however, this prince followed the opposite policy.[199] And perhaps it was for this reason that Nandana became one of the main targets of Mahmūd's wrath.

Trilochanapāla tried to defend the fort of Nandana in 1014 A.D. very cleverly.[200] He delayed the fight in order to make preparations and, putting the fort in charge of his son Bhīmapāla, he went to Kashmir to seek help. While Trilochanapāla was in Kashmir the fort of Nandana fell to the Muslims.

It seems probable that the battle of Tuṅga, the minister of Kashmir, and Trilochanapāla against the Turushkas was fought just after the fall of Nandana.[201] The battle was fought on the banks of Tausi. Trilochanpāla was cleverly defending himself, as he had grown experienced fighting with the Turushkas but the leader of the allied contingent fought in a way not according to the plan of Trilochanapāla. The result was the defeat of the Indian army. But Trilochanapāla fled.[202] According to Gardīzī the date of this defeat is 1015 A.D.[203] which would mean that Mahmūd remained in the Shāhi kingdom for about one year.

Mahmūd's raids on Kashmir are recorded in the successive years 1016 and 1021 A.D.[204] Trilochanapāla is said to have 'displayed great resolutions also after he had fallen from his position' and relying on his force of elephants endeavoured to recover victory,[205] which made 'Hammīra not to breath freely'.[206] These statements clearly testify to the courageous attempts made by the Shāhi king to free his kingdom from the Muslims.

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[199] Alberūnī has remarked that Anandapāla 'cherished the bitterest hatred against the Muhammadans from the time when his son was made prisoner, whilst his son Tarojanapāla (Trilochanapāla) was the very opposite of his father (E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 14).

[200] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 and 51 ; J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[201] Gardīzī mentions the march of Mahmūd to Kashmir just after Nandana. Trilochanapāla is said to have fled having the news of the Muslim march (S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 25). In the fight on the Tausi with the Kashmir contingent also the Shāhi king is said to have clearly fled away (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 62).

[202] *ibid.*, VII. 47-62.

[203] S.R. Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[204] *ibid.*, pp. 26, 29.

Most probably, Trilochanapāla died while protecting the Lohar Kot from Mahmūd's invasion in 1021 A.D.[207]

BHĪMAPĀLA

Muslim chronicler 'Utbī refers to this prince at the time of Mahmūd's invasion of Nandana as *Niḍar* (fearless).[208] From Alberūnī we know that he was the son and successor of Trilochanapāla and was killed in 1026 A.D.[209]

After Bhīmapāla the Shāhis figure no more on the political stage of Northern India. They thought service in the Kashmir court. Shāhi princes named Rudrapāla, Diddāpāla, Anaṅgapāla, Bijja, Pitharāja and Pāja are recorded by Kalhaṇa as having served Ananta (1028-64 A.D.) and Kalaśa (1063-89 A.D.).[210]

FALL OF THE GREAT DYNASTY

After the defeat of Trilochanapāla in 1015 A.D. the royal family of Udabhāṇḍapura declines. He was not able to revive his kingdom. According to Alberūnī, by his time (1030 A.D.) the dynasty was extinct and of the whole house there was no longer the slightest remnant in existence.[211] However, there were Shāhi princes at the Kashmir court as having served Ananta and Kalaśa (1028-1089 A.D.)[212] shows that the house was not annihilated. It merely ceased to rule. The dynasty came to an end very rapidly that, as Kalhaṇa records, one was to ask whether the Shāhi kingdom, with its kings, ministers and its courts, ever was or not.[213] However, the most probable reason of this is to be sought from a verse of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which informs us that, after the defeat and flight of Trilochanapāla, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Chāṇḍālas which resembled clouds of locusts.[214] This totally agrees with Gardīzī's narrative that when Trilochanapāla fled, Mahmūd so arranged matters that the forts in the Passes were taken and pillaged. His army captured a good deal of property and a large number of men. Many Hindus accepted Islam. The same year he issued orders that in the places conquered mosques should be raised and Hindus be converted to Islam by men appointed for the purpose.[215]

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[205] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 65.

[206] *ibid.*, VII. 64.

[207] Alberūnī records that Trilochanapāla was killed in 1021 A.D. (E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 13). Perhaps Trilochanapāla was the first Shāhi king to have been put to death by the Muslims.

However, the reconstruction of the history of Trilochanapāla after the Tausi defeat is differently treated by M. Nazim (Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.; also D.C. Ganguli, *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 13 ff.). Parujaipāla is identified with Trilochanapāla the Shāhi, because the other prince of this name who was ruler of Kanauj came to the throne long after these events (M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 93, n. 7). However, the many forms of the name of the king and his son must be sought in other dynasties of mid-India.

[208] *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, Lahore, A.H. 1300, p. 260.

[209] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 13.

[210] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 144-47, 274.

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[211] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 13.

[212] *Rājatarṅgiṇī*, VII. 144-47, 274.

[213] *ibid.*, VII. 66-69.

[214] *ibid.*, VII. 63.

[215] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Appendix A

I

ON THE WRONG IDENTIFICATION OF KALLAR WITH LALLIYA

Kallar is proposed to be identified with Lalliya mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[216], by A Cunningham and others. Cunningham states that the mistake occurred by reading Lalliya instead of Kallar in Persian script.[217] Ch. Seybold agrees with Cunningham but takes Kallar as a misreading of Lalliya or Lallih.[218] Thus 'the founder of the dynasty' was taken to be 'Lalliya whom Alberūnī calls Kallar and who was certainly reigning towards the end of the 9th century and was therefore a contemporary of Śaṅkara Varmā'[219] according to Cunningham on the basis of the chronology suggested by him. His chronology follows Alberūnī for the succession of kings, adding the approximate dates at the rate of 25 years to each generation.[220] M.A. Stein suggests the identification of Lalliya with Kallar that the description of Lalliya's power and repute in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* agrees with what Alberūnī informs us about the energetic founder of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty.[221]

We have already commented upon the authenticity of the succession list given by Alberūnī.[222] and thus to allot a fixed number of years to each king and to put Kallar towards the end of the 9th century A.D. will not be more than a conjecture. However, the approximate period also differs from scholar to scholar.[223] Thus, following Alberūnī, to put Kallar contemporary to Śaṅkaravarman is not convincing. The basis on which M.A. Stein identifies Kallar with Lalliya however, has nothing to relate the two personalities who are said to have ruled from two different places, Kabul and Udabhāṇḍapura respectively. The suggestion put forward by A.A. Kohzad[224] and also G. Singh[225] seems more correct that Kallar and Lalliya were two different personalities. We have also other reasons to date Lalliya posterior to Kallar.[226]

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[216] V. 155.

[217] *ASI*, *R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 83, f.n. 2.

[218] *ZDMG*, Band XLVIII 1894, pp. 699 f. quoted by H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 76, f.n. 1.

[219] *ASI*, *R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 84.

[220] *ibid.*, p. 82.

[221] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 336.

[222] *Supra*, pp. 77 f.

II

ON THE WRONG IDENTIFICATION OF KALLAR WITH SPALAPATIDEVA OF THE COINS

E. Thomas proposed to identify Spalapatideva (which was read as Syalapatideva) of the coins with Kallar, because 'there is less difference in sound system between Syala and Kalar, than would at first be imagined, so that if our translator Alberūnī wrote his Arabic version from oral tradition, this slight change in the initial pronunciation of the name would be fairly probable.'[227] To support his identificatiion, he also adds, 'If this supposition be rejected, there is still in reverse the very likely substitutions by succeeding copyists of the Arabic manuscript, of a *kaf* for an *sin*.'[228] He also proposes to take 'Pati as a second name or Syala as a popular abbreviation of somewhat long title of Syalapatideva.'[229]—

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[223] Cf. C.V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 201 who allots only 20 years of period to each king.

[224] *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, Vol. II, Kabul, 1946, p. 550.

[225] *PPHC*, First Session, Patiala, 1965, pp. 68 ff.

[226] Cf. *Supra*, p. 89.

[227] *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, p. 180.

[228] *loc. cit.*

[229] *loc. cit.*

The proposal of Thomas is followed by A. Cunningham taking 'Kallar as his true name and Syalapati (Cunningham changed Sya into Syā) as the title which he assumed on ascending the throne.'[230] The way in which Thomas, as well as Cunningham treated the evidence now holds no ground with the correct decipherment of king's name as Spalapatideva, the first part of which neither resembles phonetically to Kallar nor could have been corrupted to that extent in Arabic script. The suggestion of Pati as the second name or Syala (or Spala) to be an abbreviation of the full name has no basis at all. The support of Cunningham for Thomas' view, with a slight change of an initial, was actually to deduce the Rajput origin of the Hindu Shāhis.[231] With the decipherment of the name of the issuer as Spalapatideva, Cunningham formed a new view that Kallar was the name of the king and Spalapati the designation by which he was usually known.[232] He refers to Spalapati as being the title of the war minister in Persia, Parthia, Hyrkania and Armenia and quotes examples of titles similar to the name under discussion viz. Sparapet or Sipehbed, Asparapati, Aspabed or Sparabed. The latter view of Cunningham is to be considered with the suggestion of V.A. Smith, quoted below, who is a step ahead in conjecturing the possibilities. Smith says, 'Both those titles (Sāmantadeva and Spalapatideva) may have been used by one king, the Kallar of Alberūnī and the Lalliya of the Kashmir chronicle', he also suggests, 'the hypothesis that the coins with the Persian title (Spalapatideva) were struck at mints situated in the territory West of the Indus, which was formerly included in the Persian empire, while those with Sanskrit title (Sāmantadeva) were issued in the Punjab.'[233]

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[230] *ASI, R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 83.

[231] 'The title of 'Lord of the Syāls' or Syāl tribe, is another proof of his Rajput origin as the Syāls claim to be descended from Rasālu, the son of 'Sālivāhana (*loc. cit.*).'

[232] *CMI*, p. 58.

[233] *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, pp. 245 f.

Thus to the identification of Cunningham that Kallar, Spalapatideva and Lalliya were one personality, Smith adds the name of Sāmantadave also.[234] However, both scholars have treated either Sāmantadeva and Spalapatideva as belonging to two different periods or Sāmantadeva and Lalliya as separate than the proposed identity.[235] Thus their own statements are contradictory.

The mark *ka* behind the horseman on the coins of Spalapatideva is believed to refer to Kallar by D.W. MacDowall, considering Spalapatideva as a title used by more than one king.[236] The scholar takes most of the names known from the coins as mere titles and not as personal names. However, at the same time he attributes the coins of Bhīmadeva and Khvadavayaka to those individuals. If his suggestion of *ka* as denoting Kallar is taken, there are many other symbols on the coins of Spalapati and others also and even on the coins of Bhīmadeva and Khvadavayaka which will certainly not be explainable in the way suggested. These should be taken only as mint marks.

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[234] Sāmantadeva was the fourth ruler of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty founded by Kallar. There are reasons to put Sāmantadeva as contemporary of Yaqub bn (Laith (Cf. *Supra*, p. 86; also A.A. Kohzad, *op. cit.*, p. 563; G. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 71). There are no convincing grounds to consider Kallar and Sāmantadeva as one identity who ruled with an about seven years gap of the reign periods of two kings.

[235] V.A Smith considers the coins of Spalapati and Sāmantadeva to have been issued by one king in two different regions, he dates them in the 9th century and early in the 10th century respectively (*ibid.*, pp. 246 f). A. Cunningham separates Lalliya's identity from Kallar and Spalapatideva (*NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, p. 196 chart).

[236] *NC*, seventh series, Vol. VIII, 1968, p. 221.

Appendix B

SUKHAPĀLA

When Mahmūd had to march from Multan to subdue the revolt of Ilak Khān in the Oxus Valley Sukhapāla was made governor of the Indian territory.[273] He is called Nawās Shāh which means 'grandson of the Shāh'. 'Utbī mentions that Nawās Shāh was the son of a ruler of India,[238] but Gardīzī records his grandfather's name as Jayapāla.[239] According to the latter chronicler Sukhapāla was captured from Mahmūd by Abū 'Alī Simjurī at Nīshāpur and converted to Islam.

According to M. Nazim, Sukhapāla probably fell into the hands of Sabuktigin in 986-7 A.D. when Jayapāla is said to have left some of his kinsmen as hostages with Sabuktigin.[240] In the opinion of H.C. Ray, the Indian prince was captured at Peshawar when Mahmūd campaigned against Ānandapāla in 1006 A.D. while going to Multan.[241] The chronicles have no mention of where or when Sukhapāla was taken prisoner. But it is quite explicit that he was taken by Abū 'Alī from Mahmūd. Thus the probobility is that the prince was imprisoned by Mahmūd and not by Sabuktigin. Moreover, we have seen above that in the fight of 986-7 A.D. no hostages were given to

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273. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 43. Scholars have taken him as the governor of Multan or of Udabhāṇḍapura (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33, f.n. 10 and p. 66, f.n. 3; W. Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ; M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

278. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

239. *ibid.*, p. 24. It is also mentioned in the *Ādāb-ul Mulūk* of Manṣūr (Cf. M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 98, f.n. 1).

240. *loc. cit.*

241. *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Sabuktigin.[242] Thus there are only two battles the accounts of which refer to the capture of the Shāhi princes, the one fought with Jayapāla in 1001 A.D. and the other fought with Ānandapāla in 1004 A.D. As he is referred to as the grandson of Jayapāla, his capture may well be dated in 1001 A.D.

At the time when Mahmūd was busy with Ilak Khān, Sukhapāla renounced Islam. Perhaps he was in a conspiracy formed by Ānandapāla[243] as inferred from 'Utbī that he had come under the influence of the devil, and had ventured, as before, towards Hinduism, renouncing Islam. He notices that Sukhapāla reached an understanding with the Hindu leaders with a view to his untying the collar of the faith and serving its strong cords.[244] Not only his renouncing of Islam but also 'non-fulfilment of the duties of guarding the frontiers and maintaining the strength of the boundaries'[245] invited the punishment from Mahmūd in 1008 A.D.[246] Sukhapāla was defeated. He fled to the Kashmir hills[274] but was soon captured and put into prison where he died.[248]

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[242] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 103 f.

[243] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 109 f.

[244] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[245] *loc. cit.* M. Nazim takes the rebel of Sukhapāla at the instigation of Ilak Khān (*op. cit.*, p. 98, f.n. 2).

[246] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 and 43; J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 46; B. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[247] M. Nazim suggests that the place Kashnod is a misread Khewra and places his flight to the Salt Range (*op. cit.*, p. 98 f.n. 3).

[248] However, Muhammad bin Manṣūr and Ibn-ul Athīr state that Nawās Shāh later on formed a confederacy of Kashmir chief and attacked Lahore. There he was defeated and slain (*ibid.*, p. 99, f.n. 1).

Appendix C

THE CAPITAL OF THE SHĀHIS

Though Hiuen Tsang does not mention the name of the capital of Kapiśa country[249] it is quite evident that he refers to the well known Kāpiśī city.[250] The Kshatriya ruler of Kapiśa is, however, undoubtedly to be identified with some member of the Turki Shāhi dynasty.[251] According to A. Foucher and also others this city was the capital seat of the Shāhis till about 792-3 A.D. and it was only afterwards that Kabul became important.[252] In the year mentioned Kāpiśī was attacked by Ibrahim bin-Jabbal, the governor of Zabulistan, who sacked it so thoroughly that the Arab writers cease to mention its name in future.[253]

From Baladhurī we learn that the Shāh of Kabul fought against the Arabs.[254] According to Alberūnī Kabul was the capital seat of the Turki Shāhis where the Hindu Shāhis also succeeded the former dynasty.[255] Kabul was the capital upto 870 A.D. when Yaqub ibn-Laith raided the city. At that time, accoding to our suggested chronology, Sāmantadeva was the Shāhi ruler.[256] It is accepted on all hands that the Shāhis had to move to Udabhāṇḍapura after Yaqub's capture of the city of Kabul. However, the numismatic evidence proves that Kabul must have been under the sway of Bhīmadeva (*circa* 905-955 A.D.), whose coins have been found in its vicinity. There is no doubt that the city was in the possession of Kamalavarman (*circa* 900-905 A.D.), in whose time Amr ibn Laith came upto Sakāvanta but had to retreat, and made no more incursions.[257]

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[249] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. I, p. 122.

[250] Probably the pilgrim calls the country after the name of the capital city (Cf. *Supra*, p. 32).

[251] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 51,60.

[252] *La vieille Route de l 'Inde de Bactres a Taxila*, Vol. II, Paris, 1947, pp. 235 f. ; Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, Patna, 1953, p. 193 ; A. A. Kohzad, *op. cit.*, pp. 551 f. ; G. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[253] Only Alberūnī seems to mention it once (E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 259).

[254] F.C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, pp. 146 ff.

[255] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 10 and 13.

[256] Cf. *Supra*, p. 86.

According to Kalhaṇa, the Shāhis ruled from Udabhāṇḍapura.[258] Lalliya (*circa* 880-900 A.D.) is the first ruler to have ruled from this city. In our reconstruction of the history of the Shāhis we find that Lalliya was quite probably a colateral of Sāmantadeva, and with the help of the Gurjara Alkhāna and others was able to become independent in Gandhāra in the last years of the former's rule. The old capital of Gandhāra was no longer in a flourishing condition and thus the rising city ot Udabhāṇḍapura came to be chosen as the capital.[259] If the Muslim invasions were the reason for shifting the capital to a safer place, so distant a city in no way would have served the purpose. We know that Yaqub returned from Kabul, and his brother, who launched his expedition about thirty years later, also did not penetrate into the interior of the Shāhi kingdom. A more suitable capital might have been chosen near Kabul so that the kingdom might be defended from the Muslims.

Though the city of Udabhāṇḍapura was raised to the status of the capital, the importance of Kabul was always realised for its political as well as its economical role in the affairs of the kingdom. It was always considered the origina capital, where the coronation ceremony was to be performed.[260] It was probably for this reason that, while dealing with the Turki Shāhis of Kabul, Alberūnī also dealt with the Hindu Shāhis in continuation,[261] though he must have been aware of the fact, when he was quoting the letter of Ānandapāla, that the king was the ruler of Waihand.

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[257] Cf. *Supra*, p. 93 f.

[258] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 153, 232 ; VII. 1081.

[259] We hear from Hiuen Tsang that the old capital of Gandhāra, Purushapura, was nearly, deserted, perhaps because of its subjection to Kapiśa. At that time Udabhāṇḍapura was in flourishing condition, 'its inhabitants were flourishing and in it were collected valuable rarities from various regions' (T. Walters, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 and 221).

It has been aptly demonstrated by M.A. Stein how that the ancient Indian name Udabhāṇḍapura came to be known as Waihand by Muslim chroniclers and Hund or Und in the modern days.[262] O. Carcoe identifies the capital of the Hindu Shāhis with the village Lahor near Hund.[263] He takes this village as that referred to by Firishta as the capital of Jayapāla.[264] Having more mounds than Hund, and being less exposed and more secure from floods, the village Lahor has attracted the attentions of other scholars also. S.Q. Fatimi stresses, on the authority of A. Toynbee,[265] the strategical importance of the village and also equates the village's name with Al-Ahwar of Balādhurī[266] and Lahūr of Alberūnī's[267] account.[268] However, we would submit that Jayapāla is also referred to as king of Peshawar[269] and Waihand.[270] The source which records Jayapāla as king of Peshawar contains the more important information that when Jayapāla was attacked by the king of Lohūr with the intention of conquering the salt mines of Nandan, Jhelum and Takesar, Ānanda-

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260. Cf. C.V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 201 ; Vol. III, p. 20.
261. E.C. Sachau, *op. cii.*, Vol. II, pp. 10 and 13 f.
262. *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 337 f.
263. *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f. and 106 ff.
264. J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
265. *Between Oxus and Jamuna*, Oxford, 1961, p. 28.
266. F.C. Murgothen, *op. cit.* p. 201.
267. E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 208 ; also noted as Lahūr (*ibid.*, p. 317 ; Annotations by Sachau, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 341).
268. *JASP*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, June 1963, pp. 37 ff. Fatimi has been supported by K.A. Rashid (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Dec. 1963, pp. 25 ff.).
269. *Ādāb-ul Mulūk wa Kifāyat-ul Mamlūk* of Muhammad bin-Manṣūr, Cf. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 492. The word for Peshawar is Purshur.
270. B. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 5 ; J. Briggs, op. cit., p. 38.

pāla, the son of Jayapāla, fought against the invader and finally in about 999 A.D. the city came under his sway. Thus we have more than one places related with the Shāhi kings which are phonetically nearer to the name of the fortres referred to by Alberūnī. The fortress Lahūr or Lauhūr is recorded not very far from the capital of Kashmir, at a distance of 56 Arabic miles only.[271] M.A. Stein, considering the various informations given by Alberūnī, has aptly shown that the fortress Lahūr should be indentified with the Lohara of Kalhaṇa and Lohkot of the Muslim historians.[272] The village Lahor seems not to be the Lahūr of Alberūnī as the learned Arab writer could not have mistaken to note the city of Waihand as the capital of Gandhāra[273], if the real capital was village Lahor since the 7th to 11th centuries A.D. As far as the strategical point is concerned the remarks of Toynbee are not inappropriately applied to Hund to which he makes a reference also. Caroe's view does not carry much of weight, for a capital is never selected miles distant if a place suitably situated, flourishing and with the benefit of transport is available. About the archaeological remains we cannot be sure until they are excavated. However, the Shāhi kings were notable for their noble sentiments and bearing, the present village was the centre of learned Brāhmaṇas like Pāṇinī and others, and till the time of Hiuen Tsang it preserved its fame,[274] . so there is every possibility of the remains of substantial constructions being found there. The city Lohūr referred to by Muhammad bin-Mansūr and Lahore by Firishta may be identified with the city of Lahore in Punjab.

The question of Bathinda indentified with Bhatinda, being the capital of the Shāhis has already been dealt with in

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271. E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 208, 317.
272. *Kalhaṇās Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, Introduction p. 108 ; Vol. II, pp. 293 ff.
273. E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. 206, 259.
274. T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

detail.[275] We have explained how a misreading of Waihand led scholars to see Bhatinda as the capital city of Jayapāla.

The city of Nardin (Nandana) has been considered by all historians as the capital to which the Shāhis shifted after their defeats at Udabhāṇḍapura and Bhīma Nagara. However, Trilochanapāla would not have lived more than a year at this place. This prince was opposite to his father in his treatment of Muslims, who cherished the bitterest hatred for him. Most probably when Ānandapāla was acting as a vassal of Maḥmūd, Trilochanapāla took possession of Nandana. But he had to flee in 1014 A.D. Thus Nandana is not worth considering like a capital.

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[275] Cf. *Supra*, p. 40.

Appendix D

THE ARMY OF THE SHĀHIS AND WARFARE

We have to depend upon the Muslim sources only while investigating the military strength and martial activities of the Shāhi kings. So there is always the doubt that the chroniclers may have recorded things in such a way that the Muslim conquerors might be glorified.

About the army of Jayapāla which stood against Sabuktigin the sources say that it consisted of 100,000 cavalry. To these Nizām ud-Dīn adds 'many elephants'[276] and Firishta 'an innumerable host of foot.'[277] 'Utbī refers to the army of Jayapāla a large one.[278] Most probably the numbers are given on the assumption that troops from many kings of Northern India were collected. That the numbers are overstated is proved otherwise also. At the time of his conflict with Mahmūd, Jayapāl is recorded to have had 12,000 cavalary, 300 elephants and 30,000 foot.[279] Yet Unṣurī, the court poet of Mahmūd, describes the army of Jayapāla in the following words : 'his army was more numerous than the stars on the sky or the pebbles on the earth.'[280] Thus there is every possibility of the number being over stated for the simple purpose that it was greatly to the Muslim's credit that the vast numbered armies of the Hindus were defeated by a much smaller number of well trained Muslims.

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276. B. Dey, *op, cit.*, p, 3.
277. J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
278. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
279. *ibid.*, pp. 22 and 37.
280. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 499.

However, no strength of Ānandapāla's army which fought against Mahmūd is recorded, except for the statement that 30,000 Khokhars were in his army at that time.[281] But from Alberūnī we learn that Ānandapāla was capable of sending 10,000 cavalry, 200 elephants and 20,000 infantry to help Mahmūd.[282]

The size of the army under the other Shāhi kings is not known to us, but there cannot be any doubt that it was well maintained since the time of the Turki Shāhis, who always resisted the Arabs, the Saffarids and the Kashmirians successfully. Kamalavarman is said to have started to protect the temple of Sakāvanta with an innumerable army.[283]

As far as the strategic position of the cities and forts is concerned the Shāhis were fortunate enough to have hold over Kabul, Udabhāṇḍapura, Bhīma Nagara and Nardin etc.

The whole of the Kapiśa region with its surroundings lofty mountains was inaccessible. The city of Kabul, situated on an elevated plain, was not reached by the Arabs, perhaps owing to its strategical position, though they came very near the city more than once.[284].

Udabhāṇḍapura has been also noted in that respect, since it has the Indus, the Kabul river and the Northern mountains as its guards. When Ānadapāla and Trilochanapāla had to flee from their forts they perhaps took shelter in the inaccessible land of the North.[285]

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[281] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[282] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 13.

[283] *Jāmi-ul Hikāyāt*, H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[284] The city was called by name Urdhashthāna probably for the reason that it was situated on an elevated plain (Cf. H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, p. 176).

[285] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 39, 50 f.

The forts of Bhīma Nagara and Nardin are picturesquely described by 'Utbī. The latter fort was in the safer position, in the remarkable dip of the outer Salt Range.[286]

Besides these there were many other forts in the Shāhi country.[287] However, about the many unnamed forts mentioned in the chronicles as having been captured by Sabuktigin and Mahmūd, H.C. Ray's opinion is quite plausible that the passages refer to the fighting of Indians from fortified positions.[285]

From *Ādāb-ul Mulūk* we learn that at the beginning of a fight the Shāhi kings used to blow the conch. The sound was technically called as *Śaṅkhanāda*.[289] Probably the king and other officials had their own conches to use in battle. From the sound itself it was known that a certain king or his representative has come to fight. Our suggestion is based on the information of Manṣūr that Ānandapāla blew the conch of Jayapāla and the troops of Lohūr took it a sign of the presence of Jayapāla and fled.[290]

The high morale and skill of the Shāhi army is well inferred from the descriptions of the chroniclers. In each fight the Shāhi soldiers almost overwhelmed the Muslims and only unfortunate circumstances caused the Indians to be defeated. Defeat was caused by the cold wave at Lamaghan,[291] the illusion of being deserted of their leader at Udabhāṇḍapura, and the forced retreat of the elephants at Nardina.[292] On these occasions it was, no doubt, the intelligent actions of Mahmūd that he attacked the Indian rear with a section of his army and ordered a shower of arrows to inflict wounds upon the elephants. To resist such attacks the whole of the Indian army had to realign itself. To carry out such a change in the midst of battle would always be difficult. However, there is no doubt that the Indians were less mobile than the Muslims. They made no clever surprise attacks, as the Muslims did. From the advice given to Tuṅga by Trilochanapāla[290] we learn that the Indian army was always proud of its strength, a fact also noted by the Muslims, but idle. Without posting scouts, arranging night watches or performing military exercises and preparations it hastened to fight with the invader. With his experience in the battles with the Muslims Trilochanapāla tried to fight according to the military techniques of the Muslims, but it was too late and the proposal received no support from the Kashmir contingent.

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[286] *ibid.*, pp. 44, 50.

[287] For the forts and fortresses of the country Cf. *Supra*, pp. 31 ff., also 127 f.

[288] *op. cit.*, p. 82, f.n. 4.

[289] *JRAS*, 1927, p. 491.

[290] *loc. cit.*,

[291] Cf. M. Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 29. The information is from 'Utbī, however, S.R. Sharma's translation does not refer to it.

[292] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff. and 51.

To make peace the Shāhis used to agree to pay heavy ransom. The Arabs took thousands of dirhams and payments in kind.[291] Jayapāla was asked to pay 10,00,000 dirhams, 50 heads of elephants, several forts and some territory when he was defeated at Lamghan.[292] He was released by Mahmūd for 50 elephants and his son.[293] Nawāsh Shāh was charged 400,000 dirhams.[294]

The arms used in fighting were swords, spears and arrows. 'Utbī also mentions the 'rosy helmets' of Indian soldiers, probably the saffron coloured turbans.[295]

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[290] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V1. 49-51.
[291] F.C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 ff.
[292] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 f.
[293] *ibid.*, p. 39.
[294] *ibid.*, p. 24.
[295] *ibid.*, p. 44.

PURPOSE OF THE MUSLIM ATTACKS ON THE SHĀHI LAND

The statement of the Muslim chroniclers that the attacks were made with the aim of bringing Islam to those quarters which it was not yet reached, may have been one of the least important reasons for which the Muslims chose to attack the country of the Shāhis. More than once the Muslim state in India was to face attacks from the North-West from the time of Alptigin onwards. The numerous Muslims who were already residing in Indian cities like Udabhāṇḍapura and Asifan would also have suffered, as we do not find any reference to their protection by the invading Muslims. In the light of these facts, it is clear that the religious motive was certainly not the main one.

The religious centres or the temples of India were probably attacked not merely with a view to looting the riches collected there, but also to disturb the peace of the people and to induce in them a terror of the invaders. The temples of Sakāvanta and Bhīma Nagara were attacked for these very purposes.

It is quite evident that the attacks had both hidden economic and political motives. The Arabs had long attempted to capture Kabul, perhaps for the reason that it was a flourishing trade centre connecting India with Western and Central Asian countries. Perhaps it was due to their failure to caputre Kabul that they occupied Sind in the early 8th century A.D. But they were neither so prosperous nor politically dynamic as the Ghaznavids who, acquiring the North-Western region, established their capital at Ghazni and were able to conquer the cities of India one after another.

The march of Alptigin towards India in 961 A.D. was no doubt undertaken with the aim of acquiring a new region for his rule under the pretext of 'earning divine merit by raiding Hindus'. At that time he had an uneasy position in Khurasan. After seizing Ghazni, the raids of Sabuktigin on the Indian border should not be viewed as motivated solely by politics. The Shāhi kingdom had trade relations far and wide. Caravans travelled to and fro through the Shāhi lands, because of their fortunate possession of the Northern route. In those days, Ghazni was not a flourishing trade centre in comparison with Kabul. By the 10th century A.D.; when Sabuktigin was to some extent successful in capturing the North-Western parts of India, the city of Ghazni rose to become an entropot of the transit trade connecting Khurasan and Transoxiana with India. The march of Sabuktigin on Lamghan and Peshawar may be viewed in this perspective. The raids of Mahmūd, with his greater lust for riches and his acquisition of the Punjab, were fo fulfil this purpose completely. The treatment which he gave to the Shāhis as compared with the other kingdoms he invaded was totally different. He brought the royal dynasty of the Shāhis to an end and the Muslims ruled the whole kingdom. It appears that the only reason for this was that he wanted to get the whole of the Western Punjab in his own control whereas the eastern kingdoms were only temporarily subjugated or looted with no permanent hold over them. The complete conquest of the North-West was important economically.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDU SHĀHI RULERS

		Dates in A.D.
Kallar	*circa*	860-62
Spalapatideva	*circa*	862-67
Vakkadeva	*circa*	866-67-69
Sāmantadeva (his first reign)	*circa*	869-70
Khvadavayaka	*circa*	870-72
Sāmantadeva (his second reign)	*circa*	872-82
Lalliya	*circa*	880-83-900
Kamalavarman	*circa*	900-5
Bhīmadeva	*circa*	905-55
Thakkana	*circa*	955-62
Jayapāladeva	*circa*	962-1001
Ānandapāla		1001-12
Trilochanapāla		1012-15
Bhīmapāla		1015-26

CHAPTER V

PALAEOGRAPHY AND INSCRIPTIONS

THE TOKHĀRĪ SCRIPT

It is a matter of regret that not a single document is to be attributed to the Turki Shāhis of Afghanistan. At the most we can only suggest that those Shāhis of the Hūṇa stock would have originally used the *Hūṇalipi* known as *Tokhārī* or *Tukhārī* script mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*[1] and which is used in two Uruzgan inscriptions of Mihirakula and also in the Tochi valley inscriptions of the 9th century A.D.[2] The Chionites-Hephthalite coins show a script in partly looped and elongated character.[3] *The Tokhari Manuscript* found by M.A. Stein at Lu-lan in 1916 is written in that very script.[4] Some inscriptions and manuscripts in this script are also preserved in the Berlin Museum.[5] It is the Greek script of Bactriana consisting of 24 letters with a special letter for *ś* forming the script of 25 letters and was prevalent, at the time of Hiuen Tsang, in Tukharistan.[6] The script is named (*Tokharian*) in the colophons of Uighur works.[7] The use of this script by the Turki Shāhis may indirectly be

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1. Ed. by R.L. Mitra, Calcutta, 1877, Chap. X, 125. 19. This work lists the names of 64 scripts in which *Hūṇalipi* figures at no. 22. Cf. also R.B. Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, Banaras, 1952, pp. 24 f.
2. *JRAS*, 1954, pp. 112 f. ; *AP*, Vol. I, 1064, pp. 125 ff. These inscriptions are written in the cursive form of the Greek script, which bears strong resemblance to the Tokhārī MS, mentioned below.
3. *JAOS*, Vol. 64, 1944, pp. 1 ff. ; also *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, 1960, p. 102.
4. F.W. Thomas, *JAOS*, Vol. 64, 1944, pp. 1 ff.
5. Cf. U. Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India*, Varanasi, 1967, p. 276.
6. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. I, p. 103.
7. Cf. *BSOAS*, Vol. VIII, pt. 4, 1937, p. 892, also f.n. 2.

attested by its use on the coins of Spalapatideva who would have continued the practice in follow of the former rulers.[8] The Hūṇas connected with Persia also used Pehlavi characters.[9] In India they used Gupta characters.[10] Thus it can be presumed that the Turki Shāhis of Kabul would have originally used their Tokhāri script and later on an Indian alphabet the Gupta Brāhmi, Siddhamātṛikā, and Śāradā in successive periods.

THE ŚĀRADĀ SCRIPT

The Hindu Shāhis used the Śāradā script, J. Ph. Vogel, while dealing with the inscriptions of Chamba state, surveyed the geographical extentions of the Śāradā script[13] and mentioning the finds of inscriptions in that script from the areas west of Punjab (i.e. from Peshawar, Hazara, hill tracts of Swat and Buner and Jalalabad in Afghanistan) concluded that 'there can be little doubt that the Śāradā character was used in the ancient Gandhāra during the reign of the Shāhi dynasty and in the period immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest.'[14]

Śāradā material of the times of the Hindu Shāhis

At the time when Vogel studied the Śāradā script not a single inscription belonging to any of the Shāhi king was published. Rai Bahadur D.R. Sahni for the first time, in

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[8] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 254, 265 f.

[9] *NC*, third series, Vol. XIV, 1894, pp. 276 ff.

[10] As attested by the coins and inscription of the Hūṇa kings (for coins, Cf. A. Cunningham, *NC*, third series, Vol. XIV, 1894, pp. 276 ff.; for inscriptions, Cf. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 420 ff. nos. 55-57).

[11] As evidenced from the inscription of Shāhi Khiṅgāla (*EI*, Vol. XXXV, pt. I, 1963-64, pp. 44 ff.) who may be identified with Hūṇa king Khiṅgila known from coins (A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 278).

[12] The kings of Zabul area were using Śāradā along with Tokhāri (Bactrian) in the latter half of the 9th century A.D. (Cf. *AP*, Vol. I, 1964, pp. 125 ff.).

[13] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 43-46. The script was used in Kangra, the Beas, Satluj, Ravi, Chinab, Jhelum and Indus valleys and the Punjab plains up to Delhi.

[14] *ibid.*, p. 45.

1917, noticed two inscriptions of the Shāhi kings Bhīmadeva (*circa* 905-955 A.D.) and Jayapāladeva (*circa* 962-1001 A.D.),[15] which were published in 1932.[16] With these two inscriptions a third was also noticed by him[17] but unfortunately there is no evidence that this is to be attributed to any Shāhi king, though it refers to a royal house and the find spot was within the Shāhi kingdom ; this suggests that the inscription referred to some Shāhi king.[18] In 1923-24 a Śāradā inscription was noticed by H. Hargreaves at Hund (Udabhāṇḍapura). It records the construction of a Śaiva temple and is dated by the discoverer in the 10th century A.D. on the basis of its palaeography.[19] L.D. Barnet possessed some photographs of one or more inscription of the Śhāhi times. He handed over those photographs to Prof. A.L. Basham some time about in 1950. Unfortunately the photographs are not traceable.[20] The other Śāradā inscriptions found in the vicinity of Śhāhi kingdom bear nothing of importance ; either they are defaced[21] or later in time.[22]

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[15] *ASI*, *AR*, 1917, p. 20.

[16] *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, pp. 293 ff. Inscription Nos. IV and VI.

[17] *ibid.*, pp. 299 f., Inscription No. V.

[18] The Jhusi inscription (*IA*, Vol. XVIII, 1889, pp. 34 f.) belongs to one Trilochanapāla whose dynasty is not mentioned. To identify the king F. Kielhorn only suggests the Trilochanapāla of the Shāhi dynasty. On this point we agree with C.V. Vaidya who concludes that the inscription, which is dated in 1027 A.D. does not belong to Trilochanapāla of the Shāhi dynasty, since he was no longer a king and probably not even alive at that time (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, Poona, 1921, p. 198).

[19] *ASI*, *AR* 1923-24, p. 69 Inscriptions at Hund were first noticed by M. Court in 1836 (Cf. *JASB*, Vol. V, 1836, p. 395).

[20] Information from Professor A.L. Basham, Feb. 15th 1969.

[21] Cf. M.A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* Delhi, 1961 reprint, Vol. II, p. 337, f.n. 2; J. Prinsep, *JASB*, Vol. VI, pt. II, July-Dec. 1837, pp. 876 ff.

[22] The Hund inscription edited by D.R. Sahni (*EI*, Vol. XXII, 1933-34, pp. 97 ff.) is hypothetically suggested to be dated about 775 A.D. The letters of the inscription are developed in their form as compared with the inscriptions here referred to and thus of a much later date than suggested. The date of the inscription taken to be in the Harsha era seems also to be incorrect in the light of the information gathered by Alberūnī who informs about a *Laukika-kāla* to have been prevalent

(*Contd. on page 136*)

The two Śāradā inscriptions of the 9th century A.D. discovered from the Tochi valley are not less important from the palaeographical point of view[23] but the letters of those inscriptions are not being discussed here because the documents probably do not belong to the rulers of Kabul or Udabhāṇḍapura.[24]

G. Buhler, used numismatic evidence to determine the oldest use of the Śāradā script in the coin legends of the Varman kings of Kashmir.[25] but no attention were paid to the coins of Shāhi kings of Gandhāra. J. Ph. Vogel also missed to consider the coins which would have enabled him to strengthen his view that the Shāhis used the Śāradā script. Like the Varmans the Shāhi kings used the Śāradā script on their coins. The Shāhi coinage was already known to the scholars but this seems to have escaped the notice of Buhler and Vogel.

The oldest known use of the Śāradā script by the Shāhi kings is on the coins of Spalapatideva (*circa* 862-67 A.D.).

(*Contd. from page 135*)

in that region (*AI*, Vol. II, p. 9). According to this era the date 168-9 of the inscription will come to about 1097-8 A.D.

Some inscriptions from Hund were collected by A. Burnes in 1837 (Cf. *Cabool*. London, 1842, p. 120), out of which one was taken to be of some importance by J. Prinsep and was also translated (*JASB*, Vol. VI, pt. II, July-Dec. 1837, pp. 878 f.) This inscription in the Śāradā script mentions about a king who was against the Turushkas, a point which may tempt to associate the inscription with the Hindu Shāhis. However, the same slab has a part of an other inscription in Persian script which has caused the engraver of the Śāradā inscription to put the four lines of the inscription to be started from a place on the slab clearly leaving the part of the Persian inscription aside. The rest of the nine lines of the Śāradā inscription are engraved in their full line-lengths. Thus the intended leaving of the Persian inscription undisturbed places the other inscription to have been engraved only in a later period, i.e., posterior to the Muslim occupation of Hund. The concluding words of inscription in Hindi also prove late date.

[23] *AP*, Vol. I, 1964, pp. 130 f.

[24] A. H. Dani opines that the documents may be taken to belong to the Shāhi kings of Gandhāra or the rulers of Zabulistan, as distinct from the rulers of Kabul (*ibid.*, p. 127), however, the latter possibility is acceptable for certain reasons (Cf. *Supra*, p. 61, f.n. 70).

[25] G. Buhler, *IP*, p. 91.

The Bakhshālī manuscript, found from near the village Bakhshālī in Peshawar district,[26] written in the Śāradā characters has been dated by A.F.R Hoernle to the 8th-9th century A.D.[27] He gives evidence to indicate that the original work is of some earlier date than the manuscript.[28] On the basis of the date and the provenance of the manuscript it is probable that it was transcribed in the times of the Hindu Shāhi kings.

EVOLUTION OF THE ŚĀRADĀ

Formerly it was believed that the Śāradā evolved out of the Gupta Brāhmī on account of its similarity with the latter.[29] However, now palaeographists[30] have sufficient ground to believe that the Śāradā of Kashmir and Punjab was the result of some new developments in the Siddhamātṛikā,[31] a post-

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26. *IA*, Vol. X, 1881, p. 89 f.
27. *ibid.*, Vol. XVII, 1888, p. 36.
28. *loc. cit.*
29. Cf. G. Buhler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 31 ; *IP*, p. 91 ; A. Cunningham, *ASI, R*, 1881-82, Vol. XIV, p. 121 ; A. F.R. Hoernle, *JASB*, Vol. LX, 1891, pp. 83 ff.
30. G. Buhler, *IP*, p. 91 ; J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 46 ; G. H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, Delhi, V. S. 2016 reprint, p. 73 ; A.H. Dani, (*Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1964, p. 101.
31. The term Siddhamātṛikā is accepted by A. H. Dani *op. cit.*. p. 112). However, Dani A. H. (*ibid.*, pp. 115 f.) and D. C. Sircar (*Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 310) use the term Kutila for the forms of the alphabets of the post-Gupta script prevalent in Kaśmīra, Madhyadeśa and Vārāṇasī on the evidence of Alberūnī (E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 173). The script under consideration was formerly called as Nailheaded by J. Tod (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1957 reprint, Vol. I, pp. 571 and 62 ff.) ahd Kutila by J. Prinsep on the evidence of the Dewal praśasti of the Chhinda prince Lalla (*JASB*, Vol. VI, 1837, p. 779 ; G. Buhler rejects this terminology while re-editing the Dewal record *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 76). The nomenclature accepted by J. Prinsep was also followed by J. F. Fleet (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Varanasi, 1963 reprint, pp. 201 f., 284 ; *EI*, Vol. III, 1894-95, p. 328, f.n. 1). The term is also found in Literature (*Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa, Chapter XVIII, verse 42). G. Buhler did not accept the word Kutila referred to in the inscription as the name of the script (*EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 76) and called it Acute-angled (*IP*, p. 81 f.) with a probability of its Indian name Siddhamātṛikā (*ibid*. p. 81). This term for so-called Kuṭila writing is also confirmed by Ziogon's note on the script of the Horiuzi Palm-leaf manuscript (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 113, f.n. 2). The Siddhamātṛikā has been classified by A. H. Dani into two heads of proto-regional scripts of 'Middle Ganges Valley' and 'Mathura and the North-Western Region' (*ibid.*, pp. 109 f.).

Gupta Brāhmī of Northern India which in due course of time took new forms in different regions.

The reason due to which the Śāradā script evolved may, as A.H. Dani[32] suggests, be the foreign pen[33] which led the Siddhamātṛikā to develop into the Śāradā in the North-Western part of India.

DATE OF ORIGIN

G. Buhler has suggested the date of the origin of the Śāradā script as about 800 A.D.[34] His opinion was based on the coin legends of the Varman kings of Kashmir, who ruled from 855 A.D. and the Baijnath praśasti, formely attributed to 804 A.D. and also on the *Bakhshālī Manuscript* of the 8th-9th century A.D. As the date of the Baijnath praśasti was later on corrected to be 1204 A.D., G.H. Ojha, rejecting the former view on the date of the origin of Śāradā, forwarded a 10th century A.D. date on the evidence of the Sarahan praśasti.[35] However, he could not have rejected the earlier view if had cared to notice that the Baijnath praśasti was not the only evidence to date the origin in about 803 A.D. Once, F. Hoernle suggested a date about 500 A.D. considering Śāradā as a direct descendant of the Western Gupta alphabet.[36] However, this view was not tenable due to the fact that inbetween the Gupta and Śāradā scripts intervened the Kuṭila (i.e. Siddhamātṛikā) which must have taken quite a sufficient time in the developing from the Gupta Brāhmī and changing into Śāradā. Keeping this in view J. Ph. Vogel has strongly supported the view of Buhler.[37] The evidence of coins of the Shāhi ruler Spalapatideva (*circa* 862-67 A.D.) also provide reason to accept Buhler's suggestion regarding the origin of Śāradā to be dated about 800 A.D.

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[32] *op. cit.*, pp. 110 f.

[33] Kushāṇa pen. This is also indicated by G. Buhler when he notices that the stiff, thick strokes give the character an uncouth appearance and a certain resemblance to those of the Kushāṇa period (Cf. *IP*, p. 91).

[34] *Kashmir Report*, p. 31 ; *IP*, p. 91,

[35] *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[36] *JASB*, Vol. L[illegible], [illegible], p. 90, also 94.

PLACE OF ORIGIN

Scholars believed that the Śāradā script was probably first elaborated in Kashmir[38] for the reason that the name of script shows some relation with that country,[39] and also that they were able to lay their hands only on the materials from Kashmir and the Punjab hill regions of Chamba and Kangra. With regard to the former point it may be submitted that the name Śāradā was attributed to the script only in later times, probably latter part of the Early Mediaeval period, when Kashmir was popularly known as the land of Śāradā (i.e. Sarasvatī).[40] The name of script reflects nothing on the place of its origin except on its popular use in the country which imparted the name. For the latter point it may be noted that the early scholars paid no attention to the materials belonging to the Shāhi rulers of Afghanistan and Punjab who used the Śāradā script since fairly early time. The country of the Hindu Shāhis also offers greater possibility of influence from foreign pen which led the Siddhamātṛikā to develop into the Śāradā, than any other region of Northern or North-Western India. Taking these points into consideration it may be suggested that the script might have originated in the country of the Shāhis.

THE NAME ŚĀRADĀ

Was the name Śāradā given to the script since it elaborated in the early 9th century A.D. is not very certain. The name Śāradā (meaning Sarasvatī), however, tempts to relate the script with the goddess of learning. The word *Sarasvatī* or *Sarasvatī-mukha* used for writing in general and the popular use of the script under study in the region of Kashmir, famous as the land of Śāradā[41] after the Śāradā shrine on the Northern boundary,[42] also give grounds to guess the above mentioned relation. Considering these points into account the scholars took the word *Śāradāksharāṇi* to mean 'either letters sacred to Śāradā, i.e. Sarasvatī or as the letters which are Sarasvatī'.[43] However, a simple meaning as the characters called by name Śāradā should be acceptable. In attributing the name Śāradā to the script it appears that the name of the region where it was popularly used, would have played main part than the goddess or the shrine which if had affected to any extent only in an indirect way. The attribution of the name Śāradā to the script would have been done only in the latter part of the Early Mediaeval period when Kashmir came to be popularly known as the land of Śāradā.[44]

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[37] J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[38] G. Buhler, *IP*, p. 91 ; J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 43 ; G. H. Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[39] J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[40] Cf. *Infra*, p. 140.

THE CHARACTERS

General Appearance

Some scholars formerly maintained that the Śārada characters show conservative nature and no development, and its palaeography may be dated on comparative similarity with the Gupta characters.[45] J.Ph. Vogel, who did a scientific and detailed study of the problem with sufficient material, has noticed[46] the definite developmental stages of the Śāradā characters. The Shāhi inscriptions and the Bakhshālī Manuscript come under the early phase of the development when the script is very near to the Gupta and Siddhamātṛikā characters.

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[41] For designations as Śārdā-deśa, Śārdā-pītha and Śārdā-maṇḍala etc. used for Kashmir, Cf. *Kashmir Report*, p. 31 ; M. A. Stein, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 286 and citations there in, also below f.n. 44.

[42] Cf. G. Buhler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 31 ; M. A. Stein, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 286.

[43] G. Buhler, *Kashmir Report*, p. 31 ; also followed by J. Ph. Vogel. *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[44] All the works referring to Kashmir as the land of Śārdā (*Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, 3. 10 ; *Rājavalipaltākā*, 407 etc.) date to the 11th and following centuries A.D.

[45] A. Cunningham, *ASI, R*, 1881-82, Vol. XIV, p. 121 ; F. Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVII, 1888, p. 7 f.n. 2 ; A. F. R. Hoernle, *JASB*, Vol. LX, 1891, p. 90.

Regarding the general appearance of the script G. Buhler remarked[47] that the Śāradā shows striff, thick strokes giving an uncouth appearance to the characters and a resemblance to those of the Kushāṇa period, but according to J. Ph. Vogel.[48] these characteristics are only true of the later Śāradā. The Śāradā of the early phase, though less ornamented than the Siddhamātṛikā cannot be said to be any more uncouth than that of an ordinary Gupta inscription.[49] According to him 'much depends upon the ability of the engraver and in general it may be stated that the earlier documents are better executed than the later ones.'[50]

The profuse use of nail-heads or wedges at the top of the letters gives a graceful appearance to the Śāradā characters. The Shāhi inscriptions and Bakhshālī Manuscript show the tops of the letters in both types, i.e. with the wedge and the | stroke.

The detailed study of the letters, medials, numerals and other signs is as follows :[51]

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46. *op. cit.*, p. 48 f.
47. *IP*, p. 91
48. *op. cit.*, p. 49.
49. *loc. cit.*
50. *loc. cit.*
51. For those letters or signs which are not discussed here, because they are not found in our inscriptions, coins and the manuscript under study, the works of G. Buhler (*IP*, p. 92), J. Ph. Vogel (*op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.), and G. H. Ojha (*op. cit.*, pls. 28-31) may be consulted for further study.

Vowels (*Svaras*)

A

The representation of *a* (1. XVIII)[52] is from the Bakhshālī Manuscript. It is an open headed letter with its lower portion of the left half showing a curve which opens towards the left[53] There is a wedge at the foot of the vertical.[54] The shape is the same as the *a* of the Siddhamātṛikā script.[55] The letter is represented neither in the Shāhi inscriptions nor on the Shāhi coins.

I

The initial *i* is represented by two dots with a separate horizontal curve below them (2.X).[56] The letter is represented in the Ranighat inscription only. The lower curve in one instance seems to have been made like a big dot (2.IX). This form may be attributed to the engraver who gave a heavier stroke while inscribing the lower curve.

U

The initial *u* is represented in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva and the Bakhshālī Manuscript. The form of the letter consists of two curves open towards the left. The upper curve is attached to the head-line and is shorter than the other large one attached to the second end of the former. The upward stroke of the lower curve of the Bakhshālī MS is lengthened up to the level of the top stroke (3.XVIII). The Barikot inscription shows the upward lengthened stroke touching the headline (3.VI) as compared to the Bakhshālī Manuscript example where it does not meet the headline.[57]

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[52] These numbers are to refer the location of letters in the Palaeographical chart Plate V. The two numbers refer to the horizontal and vertical columns of the chart respectively.

[53] This curve is already noticed in the Kushāṇa inscriptions (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. VIIIa, 5 and 6).

[54] This wedge assumes the appearance of a serif on the copper plates (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 50).

[55] Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. Xa.

[56] The Śārdā form of initial *i* is a simple derivation from the ancient Brāhmī by substituting a curve for the lowermost of the three dots. Buhler noticed its first representation in the Indore copper-plate of Skandagupa of A. D. 465 (*IP*, p. 86, for original letter see J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. III, pl. IXB, line 6, *Indrapurake*). Dani does not give any importance to the new form of *i* (*op. cit.*, p. 142) and has not noticed this form carefully, as he draws it as three hollow dots in his pl. XIIa, 4. The form is also met with in the Eran inscriptions of Budhagupta and Toramāṇa (Cf. *ibid*,. XIIa, 4 and 5).

E

The form of initial *e* retains its ancient triangular shape with its left arm curved towards right, thus giving an equilateral shape to the letter (4.VI).[58] In one example the curve is formed by an outward bend in the left arm (4. VII). The Bakhshālī Manuscript shows the form of the letter like the former one but the left arm extends down towards right (4. XVIII).

Constants (*Vyañjanas*)

Guthural (*Kavarga*)

Ka

The letter *ka* represented in the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (5. I, 5. II) the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (5. VI) and the coin legend of the king Vakkadeva (5. XXI) is similar in its form that the left end of the cross-bar, making a curve, is connected with the foot of the vertical forming an angle, and the right bar bends slightly downwards.[59] The Bakhshālī Manuscript shows its more rounded form in the loop as well as in the right arm (5. XVIII). Thus this letter was formed in one stroke without lifting the pen. This loop is not formed when the medial *u* is added to the letter (5. IX).[60] A coin legend of the King Kamalavarman shows the letter with its right arm slightly bent outwards (5. XX).[61]

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[57] The form of initial *u* is similar to the form found in most of the Gupta and post-Gupta inscriptions and manscripts of the North and Central India (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pls. Xa, XXIIa, XIIIa, and XIVa).

[58] This represents one out of the two forms of the initial *u* found in the Śārada script (Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 51). This form is already noticed in the Siddhamātṛikā script (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. Xa, 4 and 7 ; XIIIa, 5, 7 and 8).

[59] The shape is similar to the *ka* of the Siddhamātṛikā script.

In ligatures, *ka* as the upper member of the form looks like a cross-bar. It is well represented in the coin legend of the king Vakkadeva (5. XII, *kka*) and the Bakhshālī Manuscript (5. XVIII, *ktaṁ*). The example from the Ranighat inscription (5. X, *kto*) is not clear.

Kha

The letter *kha* is represented only in two examples of its ligatures, the one from the Ranighat inscription (6. IX, *khyā*) and the other form the coinlegend of the king Khvadavayaka (6. XX, *khva*), where it forms the first part of the ligatures. The form of the letter in the latter example looks liks the Brāhmī *dha* to which by means of a top stroke a vertical is attached to the left. The former example does not show the letter very clearly. The second letter of the ligature is attached to the lower end of the right loop of the letter in both the cases.

Ga

The letter *ga* is represented in all the inscriptions, in the Bakhshālī Manuscript and on the coins. It is formed by two straight lines attached vertically to the head stroke, the left one being shorter than the other and having an angular or rounded foot-mark.[62] The example from the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (7. I), the Barikot inscription of

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60. The loop is not formed also in combination with the subscribed *ṛi* and ligatures where it is the upper member (Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

61. The form is also met with in the early Chamba inscriptions of the 7th century A.D. (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. XIIa, 9).

62, The early Chamba inscriptions of about 7th century A.D. show the foot-mark of a triangular lype (A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 147, pl. XIIa 9) from which the *ga* of Śāradā would have evolved giving more volume to the foot-mark and making it hallow.

the reign of Jayapāladeva (7. IX) and a coin of the king Bhīmadeva (7. XX) may be grouped together on the basis of the same type of the form of the foot-mark of the left limb. It is interesting to note that the foot-mark in the former example opens to the right and the latter two to the left, indicating their formation with the pen moving anti-clockwise and clockwise respectively. The letter represented in the Ranighat inscription (7. X) and the Bakhshālī Manuscript (7. XVIII) shows a different form of the foot-mark, which is formed by a short curved line meeting with the lower end of the left limb forming an angle at its middle point.

In ligature, it is represented in the Ranighat inscription (7. XI, *gdha*) where the second member of the ligature is attached in the same way as in the letter *kha*, to the right limb of the letter. However, the example is not very clear.

Gha

This letter is represented in the Ranighat inscription only (8. IX). The form of the letter is of two semicircles with upward openings placed closed to each other.[63]

Patals (*chavarga*)

Cha

The letter *cha* is represented in the Ranighat inscription and the Bakhshālī Manuscript, showing its two forms. The Bakhshālī Manuscript example (9. XVIII) is of the quadrangular type, the shape taken as a characteristic of the Śāradā script by G. Buhler. The Ranighat example is of the rounded shape with a projection on the left.[65]

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[63] However, the form of this letter does not change much from the older ones (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

[64] *IP*, p. 92.

[65] This shape is noticed in the early inscriptions of Chamba and the form is very similar to the Gupta *cha* (Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 52). However, he notices the shape in the Bakhshālī Manuscript also (*loc. cit.*).

The inscription also presents the letter as the first member of the ligature (9. X, *chchhu*) to which the second member is attached at the left projection. The example is partly preserved.

Chha

The representation of this letter is only in the ligature with *cha* where it forms the second part (9. X, *chchhu*). Though the example is partly preserved it shows clearly that the letter is of the double looped variety.[66]

Ja

The ancient Bhrāhmī *ja* slightly changes its form so that its upper arm merges with the top stroke and bends the two lower ones downwards.[67] The letter is represented in all the inscriptions and in the Bakhshālī Manuscript, showing two varieties. The first variety shows the rounded form of the third horizontal stroke of the ancient Brāhmī *ja* meeting with the vertical, i.e. the left half or the limb (10. I, 10. IX. 10. XVIII); the second variety showing same angularity (10. II, 10. V and VII, 10. X, I0. XIX). Both these varieties occur in all the inscriptions.

In the ligatures it occurs as the first member. The second letter *ya* in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (10. VIII, *jya*) is attached to the right limb of *ja* as was the case with the letters *kha* and *ga*. However, the Bakhshālī Manuscript shows (10. XIX, *jña*) the second letter *ña* of the ligature attached to the left limb of *ja*.[68] It also occurs as the second member of the ligature as represented in the Ranighat inscription (24. XIII, *rja*) with *ra* which is attached to the top-stroke like a serif.

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[66] The form is similar to the Gupta *chha* (Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *loc. cit.*; A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pls. Xa, 2 ; XIIa, 4).

[67] The form is same as in the Siddhamātṛikā script (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit,*. p. 52 ; also G. Buhler, *IP*, p. 88).

[68] Such type of combination is well noticed in the Nāgarī (*loc. cit*).

Ña

This letter is represented in the Bakhshālī Manuscript only as the second member of the ligature with *ja* (10. XIX). The letter is a developed form of Brāhmī *ña* converting the angles into curves, thus giving a shape very near to the letter *u.*[69]

Linguals (*Ṭavarga*)

Ṭa

The letter *ṭa* is represented in all the inscriptions (11. I, 11.VI, 11.IX and X) and the Bakhshālī Manuscript (11.XVIII) showing the same form as in the Brāhmī of the ancient days, except a development of the top stroke in the latter example.[70]

In ligature, as the second member, the letter retains its normal form (11. VI, *ṭṭā*).

Ṭha

This letter is represented in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (text lines 9, *shṭha* and 8, *shṭhi*) as the second member of ligatures but unfortunately it is indistinct.[71]

Ḍa

The letter *ḍa* is represented in the Bakhshālī Manucript only (12. XVIII). This letter is a developed form of the Brāhmī *ḍa* with more roundness to the angles.[73]

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69. The form is similar to the Siddhamātṛikā *ña* (*loc. cit.*). J. Ph. Vogel noticed the similarity of the letter with the example of the Bower's Manuscript (*op. cit.*, p. 53), however, neither G. Buhler (*IP*, p. 88) nor A. H. Dani (*op. cit.*, pl. XIIa, 11) has noticed the letter in the said manuscript.
70. The development of the top stroke is found in the later inscriptions of Chamba dating from about the 11th century A.D. (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 53).
71. The form of *ṭha* in the Śāradā script is the same as in the ancient Brāhmī (*loc. cit.*).
72. G. Buhler noticed the form of the Śāradā *ḍa* showing in the middle a loop instead of an acute angle and a wedge at the end as peculiar development (*IP*, p. 92). However, J. Ph. Vogel contradicted the statement of Buhler that the loop is not apparent in the examples referred to giving a possibility of its existence in the Śāradā of Kashmir (*op. cit.*, p. 53).

Ṇa

This letter is represented in the Ranighat inscription and Bakhshālī Manuscript, showing two varieties. The letter is a developed form of the Gupta *ṇa* having loops on both sides of the vertical at the upper end with the compressed lower horizontal minimised to the vertical line. The one example from the Ranighat inscription (13. IX) has a thicker base and the other (13. X) shows the base sloping to the right.[73] The example from the Bakhshālī Manuscript (13. XVIIII) shows a rather roundish form having a small upward stroke to the right.[74]

Dentals (*Tavarga*)

Ta

The lerter *ta* is represented in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva, the Ranighat inscription, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and the coin legends of the kings Spalapatideva, Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva. The form of the letter is derived from the Brāhmī of the ancient days with slight change.[76] The first variety of the letter shows a loop attached to the head mark (14. IX, 14. X, 14. XI, 14 XII, 14. XIII, 5. X, 29. IX). This variety is represented in the Ranighat inscription only. The second variety shows a slight development from the first, having lost its left half while the right half is converted into a curve (14. V, 14. XVIII, 14. XX, 5. XIX, 29. VI). According to G. Buhler the latter variety is derived from the former.[76]

As the first member of a ligature, represented in the Ranighat inscription, it retains the form used in that inscrip-

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73. The form is met with in the Siddhamātṛikā (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 147, pl. XIIa, 9),

74. This form of *ṇa* is found in the early copper plates of Chamba (J. Ph Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 53).

75. The form is similar to the Siddhamātṛikā *ta* (Cf. G. Bubler, *IP*, p. 88; A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. XIIa). This form is also met with in the Gupta inscriptions (*ibid.*, pls. Xa, XIa, XIIa, and XIIIa).

76. *op. cit.*, p. 92,

tion, i.e. the second variety (14, XII, *tka*, 14. XIII, *tti*). The members forming the second part of the ligatures are attached to the right end of the loop, as was the case with the letters *kha*, *ga* and *ja*. *Ta* as the second member of the ligatures also retains its form except the head stroke, the Ranighat examples (5. X, *kto*, 14. XIII, *tti*, 29. IX, *sti*) show the looped variety and the Barikot inscription, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and the coin legend examples (29. VI, *sti*, 5. XIX, *ktaṁ*, 18. XX, *nta*) show the second variety of the letter.

Tha

This letter is represented in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva and the Ranighat inscription. The letter is formed with two circles resembling the Roman numeral '8' with a flatened shape.[77] One of the examples from the Ranighat inscription (15. IX) is well preserved but the other one (15. X) shows only the trace of the letter. However, the letter in the Barikot inscription (text line 9) is indistinct. The letter *tha* is similar in formation to the letter *sha* except for its top stroke.

The Barikot inscription represents the letter *tha* as the second member of the ligatures (29. VII, *stha* and 24. XIV, *rtha*). In the former example the curve is turned outward to the left, so that the subscribed *tha* assumes the appearance of Roman letter 'S'.[78] The latter example shows a form like the letter *pha*. However, the Bakhshālī Manuscript shows an altogether new form of *tha* as the seconds member in ligature (24. XIX, *rtha*).

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[77] The form is very similar to the Gupta *tha* (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 54). For comparisons, Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pls. Xa, XIa XIIa and XIIIa.

[78] The Śāradā script shows a second form of subscribed *tha* which is expressed by a spiral or inward curve drawn from left to right. The older Śāradā presents the subscribed *tha* closely resembling the *va*, usually with a tail to the right of the foot of the vertical (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 66).

Da

The letter *da* is represented in all the inscriptions, Bakhshālī Manuscript and coin legends. The forms may be grouped in two classes. The first one, represented in the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (16.I) is formed of a short vertical attached to the head stroke, the lower end of which has a circle with an oblique line to the right, turned upward at the right end. The other example of this group is a ligature from the same inscription and appears only as the first part (16. II, *dbha*). The second group shows a curve turned upwards at the right end in the place of the oblique line and having a slight projection on the left in the place of the circle (16.VI, 16.VII, 16.VIII, 16.XVIII, 16.XX, 16.XXI, 16.XX.II, 16.XXIII).[79] These examples, though giving nothing additional to the form of the second group, show a little variation. Some of the examples of this group do not show the upward turn of the right end. (16.IX, 16.X, 18.XIV).[80]

In ligatures as the first member it is represented in the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (16.II, *dbha*) and the Ranighat inscription (16.XI, *dma*), the examples not being very clear. The second member of the ligatures is attached to the right end of the curve of the first member. As the second member of the ligature, represented in the Ranighat inscription (18. XIV, *nda*), it retains its form and is attached to the vertical of the first member.

Dha

The form of the letter *dha*, represented in all the inscriptions and the Bakhshālī Manuscript, is not very dissimilar to the ancient Brāhmī *dha*. The examples from the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (17.I) and the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (17.VI) show that the crescent starting from the lower end of the vertical does not meet the other end. However, these examples show a head stroke. The other two examples, one from the Ranighat inscription(17.IX) and the other from the Bakhshālī Manuscript (17.XVIII) show the full crescent and not the head stroke.

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[79] The upward slant is already noticed in the Siddhamātṛikā (Cf. G. Buhler, *IP*, p. 88 ; A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. XIIa, 9).

[80] This form is very similar to the Gupta *da* (Cf. *ibid.*, pls. Xa, XIa, XIIa, and XIIIa). J. Ph. Vogel found in the Chamba inscriptions only the form of the second group and remarked that the Śāradā *da* has the same form as in the Gupta character (*op. cit.*, p. 54), howeve, the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva leads to somewhat different opinion.

As the second member of the ligature it is represented in the Ranighat inscription (18.XV) retaining its full crescented form and is attached to the vertical of the first member.

Na

The letter *na* shows a slightly slanting stroke to the proper left of the vertical with a head mark.[81] The examples from the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (18.VI) ,the Ranighat inscription (18.IX, 18. X, 18.XI, 18.XII, 18.XIII, 18.XIV), the Bakhshālī Manuscript (18.XVIII) and the coin legends of Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva (18.XX), show the same form with some variations of the size and place of the left stroke.

As the first member of a ligature it it represented in the Ranighat inscription (18.XIII, *nti*, 18.XIV, *nda*, 18.XV, *ndha*) and the coin legends of Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva (18.XX, *nta*) ; the second members are attached to the vertical of the first member.

Labials (*Pavarga*)

Pa

This letter is represented in all the inscriptions, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and the coin legend of Spalapatideva. The letter is formed with a vertical on the right to which a curve is attached on the left opening towards the upper side.[82]

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[81] The form is already met with in the Siddhamātṛikā (Cf. G. Buhler, *IP*, p. 89 ; A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. XIIa, 9).

[82] The shape is like the Gupta letter. For comparison, Cf. A. H. Dani *op. cit.*, pls. Xb, XIIb, and XIIIb.

The left vertical has head mark. The curve is often angular (19.I. 19.VI, 19.X, 19.XX). The meeting point of the curve and the right vertical in the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva is the lower end of the right vertical (19.I, 19.II). The head marks of the one group (19.I, 19.VI, 19.XX) show an acute angle on both the upper ends, the other group (19. II, 19.IX, 19.X) has it on the left end only; while the third group (19.XVIII) has a line as head mark on the top. The letter *pa* is distinguished from *sha* by the absence of a cross-bar, from *ma* by the absence of a loop and from *cha* by the absence of a top- stroke and loop.

In ligatures, as the first member it is represented in the Barikot and Ranighat inscriptions (19. VI, *pra*, 19. X, *pra*) where the second member is attached to the foot of the vertical. As the second member of a ligature it is represented in the coin legend of the king Spalapatideva (29. XXI, *spa*), and looks like a fish-hook, the left end of which is attached to the right vertical of the first member.

Pha

This letter is represented in the Bakhshālī Manuscript and Ranighat inscription. The form of the letter is like a hook, with a top-stroke and loop at the right end of the hook (20. XVIII)[83] showing a slight change in its ancient Brāhmī shape.

In ligature it is represented in the Ranighat inscription as the second member attached to the left part of the first member (29. X, *sphu*). The letter may be confused with *tha* in some ligatures (Cf. 24. XIV, *rtha*).

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[83] It may easily be confused with *dha* which is slightly more angular (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

Ba

In the inscriptions under study the letter *ba* always appears as *va*.[84]

Bha

The letter *bha* is formed of a vertical line which hangs from a linear head mark and turns to the left and then instead of making a triangle opens its mouth to the right and ends as a semi-circle which opens sometimes to the left and sometimes to downwards[85] (21. II). The examples are from the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva. There are the two main varieties, the latter variety is found in the coin legends of Bhīmadeva (21. XX) and also on some coins of Sāmantadeva as mint mark. In the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (21. VI) and the coin legends (21. XX) the upper vertical forms slanting line instead of an angle open to the left. The Bakhshālī Manuscript example (21. XVIII) shows only a projection towards the left in place of the central triangle. The examples from the Ranigaht inscription (21. IX, 21. X) are partly preserved.

Ma

The letter *ma* is represented in all the inscriptions, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and the coin legends of the kings Kamalavarman, Bhīmadeva and Sāmantadeva. It shows three varieties. The shape is formed with two verticals and a horizontal connecting them at the lower side. The first variety has loop at the lower end of the left vertical and is represented in the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (24. V).[86] The second variety has a slight projection instead of a loop with a headline or acute angle on the left vertical and is represented in all the inscriptions (22. I, 24. VII, 24.XVII, 22.XII, 22.XIII, 22.XIV), the Bakhshālī Manuscript (22.XVIII) and the coin legend of the king Kamalavarman (22.XX). These examples show some variations in the left projection or the right vertical. Some of the examples represented on the coins of Bhīmadeva and Sāmantadeva (22.XXII, 22.XXI) show the head strokes on both the verticals. The only example in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (22.VI) shows a wedge and not a projection. The third variety shows either a slight projection or a wedge to the left and shortens the right limb up to the meeting point of the horizontal (22.II, 22.IX, 22.XII, 22.XI, 22.XVI).[87]

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[84] In the Śāradā script only one sign is used for both (J. Ph. Vogel, *op cit.*, p. 55). The replacement of the sign of the letter *ba* by *va* in Northern, Central and Western India is noticed from inscriptions of the 7th and later centuries. However, it occurs even earlier in the manuscripts, suggesting that the letter *va* was very generally pronounced *ba* (G. Buhler, *IP*, p. 89). For *va* see *Infra* pp. 156 f.

[85] The form is already noticed in the Siddhamātṛkā script (*loc. cit.*). The other form of *bha* in Śāradā is with an inverted wedge. The Chamba inscriptions show the wedge form used in the stone inscriptions and that with the triangle in the copper plates (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

Semi-vowels (*Antasthas*)

Ya

The letter *ya* is of one form, represented in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva. the Ranighat inscription, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and on the coins of Khvadavayaka. The form of the letter is derived from the bipartite type *ya* of the Siddhamātṛikā[88] showing the right end of the pronounced curve forming a right vertical. The examples from the Ranighat inscription (23.IX, 23.X) show a top-stroke on the left vertical while in that from the Barikot inscription (23.VI) the stroke occurs on both the verticals. The examples from the Bakhshālī Manuscript (23.XVIII) and coins of Spalapatideva (23.XXI) show a headline. The example from the legend in the coin of king Khvadavayaka (23.XX) is open without any top-stroke.

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[86] In exceptional cases only this variety of *ma* is met with in the Chamba inscriptions (*loc. cit.*).

[87] These forms are also found in the Gupta and Siddhamātṛikā scripts (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pls. Xb, XIb, XIIb and XIIIb).

[88] *loc. cit.*

In ligatures the letter is represented in the Ranighat inscription (28.VI, *shya*, and 29.XI, *sya*) as the second member, the left top of which is attached to the first member, as is the case with the letters *bha* and *ma*. The former example shows the right stroke up to the headline and the latter has the shorter stroke.

Ra

This letter is represented in all the inscriptions and the Bakhshālī Manuscript. It has a leftward stroke at the lower end of the vertical with a headline (24.II, 24.VI, 24.IX, 24.XI, 24.XII, 24.XVIII).[89] In some of the examples from the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (24.I, 24.III, 24.IV) and the Ranighat inscription (24.X) the leftward stroke takes the form of a triangle. The last example of the former inscription shows a clear triangle while the other two examples show some sort of roundness. The two examples from the former inscription (24.III, 24.V) show the stroke to have lengthened downwards.

In ligatures, as the first member, the letter drops its wedge and is attached to the left limb of the second member (24.V, *rmo*, 24.XIV, *rthā*, 24.XVI, *rmī*, 24.XVII, *rvā*, 24.XIX, *rthā*). As the second member of the ligature in the compounds *pra* (19.VI, 19.X) and *śrī* (27.VI, 27.XX, 27.XXI, 27.XXII) it takes an upward start from the foot of the first letter turning towards left. The medial *u* is sometimes confused with the subscribed *ra* (Cf. 5.IX *ku*).

La

The letter *la* is represented in the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva, the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and the coin legend of Kamalavarman. It is very near to the Nāgarī *la* in form (25.II).[90] The meeting of the horizontal bar and the curve is differently noted in the examples as the left end of the horizontal meets the curve a little upward from the right end (25.I, 25.XVIII) or the curve meets the horizontal, which is slightly bent downwards, in the middle (25.VI). The letter is partly seen on the coin of Kamalavarman.

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[89] The form is already noticed in the Siddhamātṛikā script (*loc. cit.*)

Va

As we have already mentioned above the sign for *va* was also used for *ba*. The letter is represented in all the inscriptions, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and the coin legends of the kings. The form is that of a curve attached to a vertical closed at the top with a head-stroke.[91] The examples show three varieties of the letter. The first variety with a vertical longer than the height of the curve is represented in the Dewai stone inscription (26.II), the Ranighat inscription (26.X) and the Bakhshālī Manuscript (26.XVIII). Simultaneously was used the second variety which shows the vertical of the height of the curve represented in the Dewai stone inscription (26.I), the Barikot inscription (26.VI), the Ranighat inscription (26.IX) and the coin legends (26.XX, 26.XXII). The form in the coin legend of the king Khvadavayaka (26.XXI) is of a triangular shape closed at the top. The letter is very similar to *pa* and is distinguished from *sha* by the absence of the cross-bar.

In ligatures it is represented as the second member in the Dewai stone inscription (27.IV, *śva*), the Barikot inscription (27. VII, *śva*) and the coin legend of the king Khvadavayaka

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[90] The form is developed from the Gupta *la* and is also noticed in the Siddhamātṛikā script (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pl. XIIb, 9).

[91] The form is derived from the later Gupta letter (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 56). It is difficult to state that the sign for *va* was derived from *ba* or *va*, however, the letter *ba* seems to have replaced *va* as was the case in Eastern India (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 130). In one of the Chamba inscriptions (Devi-ri-Kothi praśasti) the letter *ba* and *va* are made distinctively, the former being rounded and the latter angular in shape, but not always as at one place *ba* is angular (*ibid.*, p. 68).

(6.XX, *khva*) showing its triangular form attached to the right vertical of the first member.

Sibailants (*Ushmas*)

Śa

All the inscriptions, the Bakhshālī Manuscript and the coin legends represent the letter *śa* of the form of the wedge type *ga* with a middle horizontal bar connecting both the verticals.[92] The examples from the Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva (27.I, 27.III, 27.IV) and one from the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (27.VI) have the triangle and the examples from the last inscription (27.VII), the Ranighat inscription (27.X) and the Bakhshālī Manuscript (27.XVIII) show the wedge. The examples from the coin legends of the kings Sāmantadeva (27.XXI) and Bhīmadeva (27.XX) have only a left ward stroke and no wedge. The examples from the Ranighat inscription (27.IX) and coin of Vakkadeva (27.XXII) show the leftward stroke attached a little upward.

The Dewai stone inscription (27.IV) and the Barikot inscription (27.VII) represent the letter as the first member of the ligature *śva*, where the second member is attached to the right vertical as was the case with the letters *kha*, *ga*, *ja*, *ta* and *pa*.

Sha

This letter has a shape resembling *va* with a cross-bar in the middle represented in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (28.VI), the Bakhshālī Manuscript (28.XVIII) and the coin legend of the king Bhīmadeva (28.XX). The Bakhshālī Manuscript example shows the quadrangular form with curved lines.

Sa

The letter is derived from the Gupta *sa* with a long right vertical as represented in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (29.VI). The other examples from the same inscription (29. VII, 29. VIII) the Bakhshālī Manuscript (29. XVIII) and the coin legends of Sāmantadeva (29.XX) and Spalapatideva (29.XXI) show a curve open to the left instead of the left loop. The Ranighat inscription examples (29. IX 29.X) are of the looped variety.

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[92] The shape of the letter is similar to that of the Gupta character (Cf. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pls. Xb, XIb, XIIb and XIIIb).

In ligatures the letter is represented as the first member only. The second members are attached either to the right vertical (29. V, 29.VII, 29.VIII, 29.XVIII, 29.XXI) or to the lower end of the left loop (29.X, 29. XI) as was the case with the letter *ja*.

Spirant

Ha

The letter *ha*, represented in all the inscriptions (30.I, 30.II, 30.VI, 30.IX), the Bakhshālī Manuscript (30.XVIII) and the coin legend of the king Bhīmadeva (30.XX), is formed of a curved vertical with an attached curved opening downwards at the lower end. The form is developed from the ancient Brāhmī *ha* giving more pronouncement to the right bar as a curve. The letter may be confused with *ta* (Cf. 14.VI).

Medial vowels (*Mātṛkā*)

Ā

The medial *a* is commonly expressed by a horizontal bar attached to the top of the consonant on the right side (22.XI, 24.IV, 27. I. 28.XX, 29.VII, 29.XX, 30.VI).[93] Special notice may be drawn to the letter *ṭā* (II. I, II. VI) where this bar is not a straight line.[94] The medial sign in *jā* (10, II, 10. XVIII) is an upward stroke forming an angle attached to the right limbs of the letter.[95]

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[93] As noticed in the Siddhamātṛkā (Cf., G. Bulher, *IP*, p. 90). In case of documents on metal it is expressed by a serif and in some examples a peculiar manner of attaching this sign is distinguished by a double top (J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 59).

[94] This peculiar form is also noticed with the letters *ṇa* and *ṅa* in the Śāradā. A similar form is noticed in the Gupta inscriptions but turned the opposite way (*loc. cit.*)

[95] J. Ph. Vogel takes its derivation from the prolongation of the central bar of the letter in the ancient Brāhmī (*op. cit.*)

I and *Ī*

The medial for i and ī are generally representsd by a downward curve drawn respectivley to the left and right of the consonant starting from the top of the letter (for *i* 14.VI, 14. X. VIII, 14. XX, 17.I, 21. VI, 24.XVIII, 29.VI, 29.IX, 30. II, 30.XX; for *i* 7.X, 10. VI, 21. II. 21.XX, 27.VI. 27. XX, 27.III, XX, 27.XX, 27.XXII). A few examples (11.X, 14. VIII, 15. X, 17. VI, 24.X. 27. II) also show continuity from the Kushāṇa and Gupta style where it is placed over the consonants and does not extend downwards. However, the examples in the Ranighat inscription show a flourish at the curve (18.XIII).

U and *Ū*

The medial *u* is of two types, the one being a curve attached to the lower end of the consonant going upwards to the left (5. IX, 5.XIX, 14.X, 18. X, 22.XIII) and the other being a stroke bent downwards attached to the middle of the consonant on the right (29,IX).

The long *ū* is expressed with the combination of a short downward stroke attached to the right of the short medial sign for *ū* (13. X, 17. IX, 22. XIV).

Ri

The form of the medial *ṛi* is a curve with a right opening attached to the foot or the right lower part of the consonant (26. X, 26. XVIII, 8. IX).

E

This medial sign is generally represented by a stroke shown by the extension of the left top head line culminating in a slight thickening of the end (16.VI, 16. VIII, 16. XX, 16. XXI, 16. XXII, 18. VI, 22. III, 24. XI, 26. IX, 27. XVIIII)

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96. G. Buhler noticed the angular shape of the medial *ṛi* as the peculiar development of the Śāradā (*IP*, p. 92) which was actually, according to J. Ph. Vogel, a form of the later Śāradā (*op. cit.*, p. 62).

except in one case in the Bakhshālī Manuscript (18. XVIII where it is a flourished stroke over the consonant.

O

The medial *o* is represented by the extension of the top head line to the left and right of the letter (7. XX, 14. XI, 24. XVIII). However, in some cases *o* medial makes the top head line slightly curved upwards. The only example (18. XI) shows no right stroke.[97]

Anusvāra

Ṁ

The *anusvāra* is a dot over the letter (5.XIX, 13.XVIII; 22.XIII) which is a continuous practice since the time of Aśoka, though in Mauryan times the dot was more often placed after the letter.

Visarga

H

The *visarga* is of two dots one over the other on the right of the letter (18. XV, 23. IX).

Punctuation (*Virāma*)

For *virāma* the two vertical lines are used as seen in the Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva (text line 11) and the Ranighat inscription (text line 1). The Bakhshālī Manuscript presents *virāma* also as a long stroke running through the right end of the top stroke.[98]

Numerals (*Aṅkas*)

The Śāradā script presents the decimal system for the writing of numbers, i.e. nine units and a cypher.

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[97] This method of representing medial *o* went out of use perhaps by the 10th century A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 65).

[98] It is also noticed in the Siddhamātṛikā (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 58).

The cypher represented in the Bakhshālī Manuscript (31. XVIII) and the Barikot inscription (text line 1) is a dot.

The signs for the numbers 1 to 4 are derived from 1 to 4 strokes drawn to represent the each number. The difference is only of their joint forms in the present examples instead of the strokes in ancient forms. A second form of the numeral 4, and also the following numerals up to 9, are derived from the ancient letter-numerals.

1 has two forms derived from a stroke, which denoted the number in the ancient period. The first form is a stroke with a rightward flourish (31. I). The stroke becomes a curve opening downwards in the second form of the numeral (31. II).

2 is formed of a stroke attached to the second form of the numeral 1 at the right end (31. III).

3 is formed of two curves opening to the left (31. IV) as one form, and a stroke is also attached to the second curve at its other end (3. V) to make the other form of the numeral.

4. The first form of the numeral 4 consists of three curves attached to each other and opening to the left (31. VI). The second form (31. VII) is a derivation from the ligature *pka* used to denote 4 in ancient days.

5 is derived from the ancient letter numeral represented by *tru*. The present form is with a long vertical on the right and the left part is formed of a rounded *ta* with a rightward flourish of the lower curve which meets the right vertical (31. VIII).

6 is a derivation from the letter *ja* used for this numeral. The present form shows only the slanting vertical of the letter *ja* to which upper and lower arms have merged and the middle one is marked towards the left of the vertical with a dot at its left end (31. IX).

7 is derived from the letter numeral represented by *gu*. The present form shows no wedge or dot at the lower end of the left vertical of *ga* and the medial *u* is a slanting line attached to the right vertical going towards right (31. X).

8 is a derivation from ancient letter numeral represented by *hra*. The stroke used for subscribed *ra* is so attached that it meets the short upper vertical of *ha* showing its downwards extension (31. XI).

9 is a derivation from the sign used for *om*. The upper curve of *om* has more prominence in the present numeral sign showing an inward rounding of the upper end and the second curve of *om* is only partly drawn like a flourish at the lower end of the upper curve of *om* (31. XII).

The use of word-numerals is also attested by the Bakhshālī Manuscript.[99] The Manuscript also shows the use of number names arranged from left to right just as the numerical sign. The number 2653296226447064994......83218 is expressed as *Shaḍviṁśaścha* (26) *tripañchāśa* (53) *ekonatriṁśa* (29) *evacha Dvāsha(shṭi)* (62) *shaḍviṁśa* (26) *chatuḥchatvāriṁśa* (44) *saptati* (70) *Chatuḥshashṭi* (64) *na* [*vanavati*] (99)...*ṁsanantaram Triraśiti* (83) *ekaviṁśa* (21) *ashṭa* (8) ...*pakam*.[100] The manuscript, however, also shows the contrary arrangement when the number 54 is expressed as *chatuḥ* (4) *pañcha* (5).[101]

The decimal system of writing of numbers was not used on coins, where we find some symbols perhaps denoting the numerals. If it was the case this would have been thought preferable because of the limited space on coins. The form of the symbol on the coins of Spalapatideva is very similar-to the symbol for 200 used in the Bower Manuscript.[102] This symbol is a derivation from the letter *su* used for 200. The three out of five examples illustrated here show the lower curves opening either to right (31. XIV) or left (31. XV, 31. XVI). The latter two examples show downward flourish in the curves. The last example shows the right curve larger than the left one. The fourth example (31. XVII) shows its left curve opening to right and the right curve opening to left without any downward flourish or difference in size. The fifth example (31. XVIII) has the curves like number 22.

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[99] G. Buhler, *IP*, pp. 127 ff.

[100] G. R. Kaye, *The Bakhshālī Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1927, folio 58, recto. The dots indicate some missing figures.

[101] *ibid.*, folio 27, recto.

CONCLUSION

This detailed palaeographical study of the Shāhi inscriptions, coin legends and the Bakhshālī Manuscript leads us to conclude that many of the Śāradā forms of the early group were under experimental conditions with more than one form used at the same time and only a few had direct links with the ancient forms having only one form. The medial signs are according to the ancient pattern. The ligatures show the second member generally attached to the right limb of the first member if that is formed of two verticals, otherwise to the foot of the vertical. If the second member is formed of two verticals its left top is attached to the first member. The numerals are all derived from the ancient forms. The word numerals, letter numerals and decimal system of writing, all were in use.

The chronological outline based on the above palaeographical study may be suggested as follows :

The Dewai stone inscription of Bhīmadeva is to be dated earlier than the other two inscriptions. The Ranighat inscription is not far from the Barikot inscription. The Bakhshāli Manuscript is very near to the Barikot and Ranighat inscriptions. The letters on the coins belong to the Śāradā characters of the early group.

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[102] G. Buhler, *IP*, pl. IX.

Appendix

INSCRIPTIONS AND THE BAKHSHALI MANUSCRIPT

INSCRIPTION NO 1.

DEWAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF ŚĀHI BHĪMADEVA

PLATE II [103]

TEXT

1. *Śrī K* [*u*][104] *lu* [*Kama*][105] *lavarmodhava—*
2. *gadāhastaparamabhaṭāra—*
3. *kamahārājādhirājāpara—*
4. *meśvaras Śā*[106] *hi Śrī Bhīmade* (*va*)[107] [II].

TRANSLATION

'By the Supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Śāhi, the illustrious Bhīmadeva, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kulakamalavarman.'

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[103] Reproduced from D. R. Sahni, *op. cit.*, pp. 299 ff. illustration.

[104] D. R. Sahni does not add the *u* (*ibid.*, p. 299). But the present restoration giving a suitable meaning to the latter word also presents a poetic and conventional expression.

[105] The restored *ma* in our text was not taken by Sahni in his text (*loc. cit.*), but he seems to take the missing letter as *ma* giving the name as Kala (kama) lavarman in his translation (*loc. cit.*).

[106] D. R. Sahni deciphered dental *sa* (*ibid.*, p. 299, line 4) which seems a mistake.

[107] I prefer to restore it as °*de* (*vena*). D. R. Sahni restored the last fragmentary letter as *va* (*loc. cit.*). But there may be a probability of more than one letter. The reasons for this being that though the former lines end nearby the letter *ra* suggesting the closing of the last line at this letter, but as the beginning of the former three lines from the place of the second letter of the first line is not the indicative of the start of the first line from the letter *ka*, it may be suggested that the last line would have been extended for at least one letter more. The headlines of the last letters of the former two lines also show that the original extent of the stone was at least a few millimetres more on the right side. With this probability the last words are restored as °*devena*, which also fulfils the grammatical requirements of the sentence.

The inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked into two pieces on the inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewai, Gandum territory.[108] Except for a little damage on the left and right sides of the inscribed stone it is almost complete on three sides but its top side is broken. It consists of a four line inscription in the Śāradā script. There seems no chance that the damage to the inscription resulted in the loss of the top portion of the slab. It is presumed on the basis of the style of engraving the inscription, in which the first word Śrī is placed to the left in the margin, that this may be the mark of the beginning of inscription. Another reason for taking the inscription as a complete one is that the sentence inscribed is complete in itself and unfolds a definite purpose for which no more than this would have been needed. The size of the slab also indicates the short nature of the inscription.

The language of the inscription is taken as Sanskrit by D.R. Sahni.[109] But the use of the word °*bhaṭāraka* instead of °*bhaṭṭāraka* and perhaps °*deva* for °*devena* lead us to think further about the language of the inscription. These mistakes either crept in through the engraver or the composer himself. Thus it is reasonable to take the language of the inscription as a deteriorated form of Sanskrit. The language prevalent in those days may be taken to be represented in the Bakhshālī Manuscript, which was undoubtedly studied in those areas, and which is written in the Gāthā dialect. Thus the language of the inscription may be taken as Gāthā. But it is more plausible to think that an incorrect word would have somehow crept in the inscription.

The inscription may be dated in the early part of the 10th century A.D. as the reign period of Bhīmadeva is suggested *circa* 905-955 A.D.

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[108] D. R. Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

[109] *loc. cit.*

Inscription No. 2

BARIKOT INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF JAYAPĀLADEVA

PLATE III [110]

TEXT[111]

1. *Oṁ*[112] *Svasti 100 Paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājapara-*
2. *meśvara Śrī Jayapāladevarajye Śrī Vajīrasthāne*
3. *Bhaṭṭaputra Śrī Poshya (?) mitradevakulaprabhaprārthite,.........*
4. ....
5. .... *ebihistribhi [ḥ]*
6. .... *karma*
7. .... *prabhava uda*
8. *karma*[113] .... *pratishṭhā*
9. *tasya......ratha pratishṭhita......ka— —rāpitaḥ*
10. *ebhistribhiḥ.........*
11. ....[*ḥ*]

TRANSLATION

'Hail ! In the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and supreme lord, the illustrious Jayapāladeva, in the illustrious Vajīrasthāna being requested by the illustrious Poshyamitradeva, the glory of the lineage...(something) was founded by these three [individuals]'.

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[110] Reproduced from D. R. Sahni, *ibid.*, pp. 299 ff., illustration.

[111] Though the photograph of the inscription provides us with chances to put in some additional brackets and a few letters, considering the value of the first hand reading of D. R, Sahni from the original we do not dare to put any sort of bracket to his reading and the letters which may be noticed as tentative suggestions in the lines numbered 4, 7, 9 and 11 giving nothing additional to the known facts or the reading itself, and so the text given by Sahni has been followed.

[112] In symbol.

[113] The engraver failed to inscribe either the upper member of the ligature or the head stroke on the left vertical of the second member of the ligature.

The inscription is inscribed on a rectangular slab of dark grey slate stone measuring 10-3/4 inches × 9 inches. It was found on a hill to the North of Barikot in upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119).[114] The Inscription is written in the Śāradā script and is badly damaged. Out of the eleven lines of the inscription only the first two lines with a portion of the third line and some words in other lines are to be read with certainty.

The present inscription is the only known epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapāladeva. There is no date in the existing portion of the inscription.

The purpose of the inscription, unfortunately, cannot be determined except that it records something founded by three individuals (whole names are completely rubbed off) in Vajīrasthāna in the time of Jayapāladeva, who ruled from *circa* 962 to 1001 A.D.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit.

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[114] D. R. Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

Inscription No. 3

RANIGHAT INSCRIPTION

PLATE IV [115]

TEXT[116]

1. [*Svasti*] !!
Girvaṇavṛindamukuṭasphuṭaratnakānti-
Kirmīritaṅghṛi (ghri) yuga [*la*] UU—U— —[| *]
— —U—UUU—UU—U— —

2. [117] — —*rjunorjuna iva prathitapratāp* [*h**] [||][118]
Bhakto [*bhartṛi*] *manouvṛittichaturo*[119] *tasyā* U—U—· —
— — —UU—U—UUU— — —U— —U[| *]
— — —UU—U—UUU— — —U— —U[|| *]
— — —UU—U--UUU— — —U— —U—[|| *][120]

3. — —U *raprabhṛitidūrjaṭipādapadma—*
reṇūtkarachchhuritamūrdhajamuṁjamā [*la*] [| *]
— —U—UUU—UU—U— —
— —U—UUU—UU—U—· — [|| *][121]

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[115] Reproduced from D. R. Sahni, *ibid.*, pp. 299 ff., illustration.

[116] After D. R. Sahni, *ibid.*, p. 300.

[117] In the view of the editors of the *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, there is the loss of a whole verse in addition to between the lines numbered 1 and 2 (*ibid.*, p. 299, f.n. 2).

[118] Metre : *Vasantatilaka.* According to D. R. Sahni the verse has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, i.e. 23 *aksharas* in all (*ibid.*, p. 299).

[119] In the view of the editors of the *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, the readings seems to be *bhaktā* (*bhartṛi*) *manonuvṛittichaturo.* In their view the feminine gender as well as the word *bhartṛi* shows that the reference is to his wife (*ibid.*, p. 300, f.n. 1).

[120] Metre : *Śārdulavikrīḍita.* The loss between the lines numbered 2 and 3, according to D. R. Sahni, amounts to as many as 65 syllables, consisting of the last five *aksharas* of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of the verse and the first three syllables of the next verse (*ibid.*, p. 299).

[121] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.* The loss between the lines numbered 3 and 4, according to D. R. Sahni amounts to only 30 syllables (*loc. cit.*).

4. [122]— — *rthav agahutāśadagdhabandhaḥ*
Khyāto yaḥ pramatha eveśa—U— —[| *]
— — —UUU—U—U— —
— — —UUU—U—U— —[‖ *][123]

TRANSLATION

Verse 1 : 'Hail. (To the god) the pair of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitudes of goods...'

Verse 2 : Whose prowess is well known like that of Arjuna, (the son or wife of whose) was devoted to and diligent in carrying out of the commands of his (or her) lord......'

Verse 3 : 'The hair of whose head which resembled the sacred cord of *muñja* grass was besmeared with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Śiva...'

Verse 4 : 'The worldly ties (of some one) had been burnt in the fire of true knowledge.'

The inscription is engraved on a fragmentary white marble slab. It was discovered by Major Deane in November, 1894 at Ranighat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A).[124]

The four lined inscription contains the portions of four or six Sanskrit verses.

The record is important in throwing light on the literary activities of the time but adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it was found.

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[122] The editors of the *EI*, Vol. XXI, 1931-32, suggest the possibility of the loss of a whole verse in addition (*ibid.*, p. 299, f.n. 2).

[123] Metre *Praharshiṇī*. There is the loss of the last 30 syllables.

[124] D. R. Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

Inscription No. 4.

DAMAGED INSCRIPTION FROM HUND

A Śāradā inscription was presented by the Khan of Hund, the ancient Udabhāṇḍapura, to H. Hargreaves when he visited the village on the 13th January 1924. The inscription contained ten lines on white marble-like stone. The centre of the stone was much damaged and many of the characters obliterated.

The Government Epigraphist for India reported about the inscription as follows:[125] The inscription in question is very badly damaged, and consequently does not admit of a complete text of translation. It is written in Sanskrit language and the Śāradā script of about 10th century A.D. The date given at the end, of which only the last portion is seen, apparently gives the name of the season and the month as well as the day. In line 8, we find the name 'Īśvara' perhaps as a synonym of Śambhu, and in line 9, possibly the names Śambhusindhu and Chhandasāna (?). The words like *kṛitaṁ Śambhoḥ* (line 2); *tasyaishā kīrtti* (line 8); *maṇḍapam* (line 5) and *kṛitaṁ kīrtti* (line 8) would indicate that it is a Śaiva inscription recording the construction of a temple.

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[125] *ASI, AR,* 1923-24, p. 69.

THE BAKHSHĀLĪ MANUSCRIPT

It was May, 1881 when a peasant discovered an ancient manuscript from a ruined enclosure, where it lay between stones, near the village Bakhshālī in the Yusufzai sub-division of the Peshawar district at the extreme North-Western frontier of India.[126]

The manuscript is written in the Śāradā script which dates from the 9th century A.D., on the birch-bark leaves, which had become dry like timber.[127] The manuscript is in an excessively mutilated condition both with regard to the size and the number of the leaves.

The name of the work and its author are both unknown owing to the loss of the beginning and the end of the manuscript. The subject of the work is mathematics.

Regarding the age of the manuscript any definite opinion has not been offered. In the opinion of A.F.R. Hoernle, the manuscript is the outcome of the Hindu civilization and Brāhmaṇical learning of the pre-Muhammadan times and dates earlier than the 10th century A.D. and may perhaps go back to the 9th or 8th century A.D.[128] G. Buhler followed the view of Hoernle and he also dates the manuscript *circa* 800 A.D.[129]

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[126] Noticed by A. F. R. Hoernle, *IA*, Vol. XVII, 1888. p. 33.

[127] The palaeography is taken to date *circa* 800 A.D. (*loc. cit.* ; G. Buhler, *op. cit.*, p. 91 and pl. VI, column VIII, also Seventh International Oriental Congress, Aryan Section, 1886, p. 133.

[128] A. F. R. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[129] *op. cit.*, p. 91.

EXPLANATION TO THE PALAEOGRAPHICAL CHART

PLATE V

The letters presented in the columns A, B, C, of the Palaeographical chart are traced from the photographs of the Shāhi inscriptions published by D.R. Sahni.[130] The forms of the letters have been taken as such with the view to get the first hand material for comparisons and also to note the difference in writing on different materials. The letters of column D are after G. Buhler.[131] Column E represents the letters eye copied from the coins attributed to the Shāhi kings. The numerals from 31.I-31.XIII are after A.F.R. Hoernle,[132] and the signs 31.XIV-31.XV and 31.XVI are after V.A. Smith[133] and B.B. Bidyabinod[134] respectively. The last two signs (31.XVII, 31.XVIII) are after C.J. Rodgers.[135]

This explanation to the chart has five columns. The first column gives the location of the letter illustrated. The Arabic numbers of the first column show horizontal columns of the palaeographical chart and the Roman numerals show the vertical columns. In the second column the Roman transcription of the illustrated letter is given. The third column is of the inscription, coin or manuscript in which the illustrated letter occurs. The fourth column gives the line number of the inscription concerned and the name of the king in the case of coins. The last column contains the word from coin

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130. *op. cit.*, pl. facing p. 299.

131. *IP*, pl. VI, column VIII.

132. *op. cit.*, p. 37.

133. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p. 246 f., descriptions of the coins of Spalapatideva numbered 2 and 6.

134. *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Non-Mohemmadan Series, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1923, p. 60, description of the coin no. 2.

135. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Pt. III, Calcutta, 1895, p. 85, description of coins of Spalapatideva, nos. 7805, 7807.

which the illustrated letter is taken and the plate and coin numbers in case of coins. The following is the explanation of the main five vertical columns marked as A, B, C, D, and E in the Palaeographical chart :

A : Dewai Stone Inscription of the Shāhi King Bhīmadeva
B : Barikot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladeva
C : Ranighat Inscription
D : Bakhshālī Manuscript
E : Coins

EXPLANATION TO THE CHART

1. XVIII	*a*	D		
2. IX	*i*	C	l. 2	*iva*
2. X	*i*	C	l. 4	*iveśa*
3. VI	*u*	B	l. 7	*uda*
3, XVIII	*u*	D		
4. VI	*e*	B	l. 5	*ebhistribhiḥ*
4. VII	*e*	B	l.10	*ebhistribhiḥ*
4. XVIII	*e*	D		
5. I	*ka*	A	l. 1	*kula*
5. II	*ka*	A	l. 3	*°kamahārājā°*
5. VI	*ka*	B	l. 6	*karma*
5. IX	*ku*	C	l. 1	*mukuṭa*
5. X	*kto*	C	l. 2	*bhakt°*
5. XVIII	*ka*	D		
5. XIX	*ktaṁ*	D		
5. XX	*ka*	E		*Kamalavarman*
5. XXI	*ka*	E		*Vakkadeva*
5. XXII	*kka*	E		*Vakkadeva*
6. IX	*khyā*	C	l. 4	*khyāto*
6. XX	*khva*	E		*Khvadavayaka*
7. I	*ga*	A	l. 2	*gadā°*
7. IX	*ga*	C	l. 4	*rthāvaga°*
7. X	*gī*	C	l. 2	*gīrvāṇa*
7. XI	*gdha*	C	l. 4	*°dagdha°*
7. XVIII	*gu*	D		
7. XX	*go*	E		*Bhīmadeva*
8. IX	*ghṛi*	C	l. 1	*°ritāṅghṛi°*
9. IX	*cha*	C	l. 2	*°chaturo*
9. X	*chchhu*	C	l. 3	*°chchhurita*
9. XVIII	*cha*	D		
10. I	*ja*	A	l. 3	*°dhirāja*

10. II	*jā*	A	l. 3	*°mahārājā°*
10. VI	*jī*	B	l. 1	*vajīra°*
10. VII	*jye*	B	l. 1	*rājye*
10. IX	*ja*	C	l. 3	*mūrdhaja°*
10. X	*ja*	C	l. 3	*muṁja°*
10. XVIII	*ja*	D		
10. XIX	*jña*	D		
11. I	*ṭa*	A	l. 2	*°bhaṭāraka*
11. VI	*ṭṭa*	B	l. 1	*°bhaṭṭāraka*
11. IX	*ṭa*	C	l. 1	*mukuṭa*
11. X	*ṭi*	C	l. 3	*dhūrjaṭi*
11. XVIII	*ṭa*	D		
12. XVIII	*ḍa*	D		
13. IX	*ṇa*	C	l. 1	*gīrvāṇa*
13. X	*ṇū*	C	l. 3	*reṇū°*
13. XVIII	*ṇaṁ.*	D		
14. VI	*ti*	B	l. 8	*ptatishṭhā*
14. IX	*ta*	C	l. 2	*tasyā*
14. X	*tu*	C	l. 2	*°chaturo*
14. XI	*to*	C	l. 4	*khyāto*
14. XII	*tka*	C	l. 3	*reṇūtkara°*
14. XIII	*tti*	C	l. 2	*vṛitti*
14. XVIII	*ti*	D		
14. XX	*ti*	E		*Spalapatideva*
15. IX	*tha*	C	l. 4	*Pramatha*
15. X	*thi*	C	l. 2	*prathita*
16. *I*	*dā*	A	l. 2	*gadā°*
16. II	*dbha*	A	l. 1	*°varmodbhava*
16. VI	*da*	B	l. 7	*uda*
16. VII	*de*	B	l. 2	*°deva*
16. VIII	*de*	B	l. 3	*°deva*
16. IX	*da*	C	l. 3	*°dagdva°*
16. XI	*dma*	C	l. 3	*°padma*
16. XVIII	*da*	C		
16. XX	*de*	E		*Spalapatideva*
16. XXI	*de*	E		*Bhīmadeva*
16. XXII	*de*	E		*Sāmantadeva*
16. XXIII	*da*	E		*Khvadavayaka*
17. I	*dhi*	A	l. 3	*°dhirāja*
17. VI	*dhi*	B	l. 1	*°dhirāja*
17. IX	*dhū*	C	l. 3	*°dhūrjaṭi*
17. XVIII	*dha*	D		
18. VI	*ne*	B	l. 2	*°sthāne*
18. IX	*na*	C	l. 2	*°arjunorjuna*
18. X	*nu*	C	l. 2	*manonu°*
18. XI	*no*	C	l. 2	*°norjuna*
18. XII	*no*	C	l. 2	*manonu°*

18. XIII	*nti*	C	l. 1	*°kānti*
18. XIV	*nda*	C	l. 1	*°vṛinda*
18. XV	*ndhah*	C	l. 1	*°bandhaḥ*
18. XVIII	*ne*	D	l. 1	
18. XX	*nta*	E		*Sīnmatadeva* *Bhimadeva*
19. I	*pa*	A	l. 2	*parama°*
19. II	*pa*	A	l. 3	*parameśvara*
19. VI	*pra*	B	l. 8	*pratishṭhā*
19. IX	*pa*	C	l. 2	*°pratāpa*
19. X	*pra*	C	l. 2	*°pratāpa*
19. XVIII	*pam*	D		
19. XX	*pa*	E		*Spalapatideva*
19. XXIII	*pha*	D		
21. I	*bha*	A	l. 2	*°bhaṭāraka*
21. II	*bhi*	A	l. 4	*Bhīma°*
21. VI	*bhi*	B	l.10	*ebhistribhiḥ*
21. IX	*bha*	C	l. 2	*bhakto*
21. X	*bhṛi*	C	l. 3	*°prabhṛiti*
21. XVIII	*bha*	D		
21. XX	*bhi*	E		*Bhīmadeva,* *Sāmantadeva*
22. I	*ma*	A	l. 2	*parama°*
22. II	*ma*	A	l. 3	*mahā°*
22. III	*ma*	A	l. 4	*°meśvara*
22. VI	*ma*	B	l. 1	*parama°*
22. VII	*ma*	B	l. 8	*karma*
22. IX	*ma*	C	l. 2	*manonu°*
22. X	*ma*	C	l. 4	*pramatha*
22. XI	*mā*	C	l. 4	*muṁjmāla*
22. XII	*mu*	C	l. 1	*mukuṭa*
22. XIII	*muṁ*	C	l. 3	*muṁjamāla*
22. XIV	*mū*	C	l. 3	*mūrdhaja*
22. XVIII	*ma*	D		
22. XX	*ma*	E		*Kamalavarman*
22. XXI	*ma*	E		*Sāmantadeva*
22. XXII	*ma*	E		*Bhīmadeva*
23. VI	*ya*	B	l. 2	*Jayapāla*
23. IX	*yaḥ*	C	l. 4	*yaḥ*
23. X	*yu*	C	l. 1	*yugala*
23. XVIII	*ya*	D		
23. XX	*ya*	E		*Khvadavayaka*
23. XXI	*ya*	E		*Spalapatideva*
24. I	*ra*	A	l. 2	*°bhatāraka*
24. II	*ra*	A	l. 3	*parama°*
24. III	*ra*	A	l. 2	*parama°*
24. IV	*rā*	A	l. 3	*°dhirāja*

24. V	*rmo*	A	l. 1	*°varmo°*
24. VI	*ra*	B	l. 7	*parama*
24. VII	*rma*	B	l. 7	*karam*
24. IX	*ra*	C	l. 1	*ratna°*
24. X	*ri*	C	l. 3	*°chchhurita*
24. XI	*re*	C	l. 3	*reṇū°*
24. XII	*ro*	C	l. 2	*°chaturo*
24. XIII	*rja*	C	l. 3	*dhūrjati*
24. XIV	*rthā*	C	l. 4	*athāvaga°*
24. XV	*rdha*	C	l. 3	*mūrdhaja*
24. XVI	*rmi*	C	l. 1	*kirmī°*
24. XVII	*rvā*	C	l. 1	*gīrvāṇa*
24. XVIII	*riṁ*	D		
24. XIX	*rtha*	D		
25. I	*la*	A	l. 1	*kula°*
25. II	*la*	A	l. 1	*°kamala°*
25. VI	*la*	B	l. 2	*°pāla°*
25. XVIII	*lo*	D		
25. XX	*la*	E		*Spalapatideva*
26. I	*va*	A	l. 1	*°vrmo°*
26. II	*va*	A	l. 1	*°rmodbhava*
26. VI	*va*	B	l. 2	*°deva*
26. IX	*ve*	C	l. 4	*iveśa*
26. X	*vṛi*	C	l. 1	*°vṛinda*
26. XVIII	*vṛi*	D		
26. XX	*va*	E		*Sāmantadeva*
26. XXI	*va*	E		*Khvadavayaka*
26. XXII	*va*	E		*Vakkadeva*
27. I	*śā*	A	l. 4	*Śāhi*
27. II	*śrī*	A	l. 1	*Srīkula°*
27. III	*śrī*	A	l. 4	*Śrī Bhīma°*
27. IV	*śva*	A	l. 4	*°meśvara*
27. VI	*śrī*	B	l. 2	*Śrī Japapāla°*
27. VII	*śva*	B	l. 2	*parameśvara*
27. IX	*śa*	C	l. 4	*hutāśa*
27. X	*śa*	C	l. 4	*iveśa*
27. XVIII	*śe*	D		
27. XX	*śrī*	E		*Bhīmadeva*
27. XXI	*śrī*	E		*Sāmantadeva*
27. XXII	*śrī*	E		*Vakkadeva*
28. VI	*shya*	B	l. 3	*Poshaya*
28. XVIII	*sha*	D		
28. XX	*shā*	E		*Bhīmadeva, Shāhi*
29. VI	*sti*	B	l. 1	*svasti*
29. VII	*sthā*	B	l. 2	*°sthāne*
29. VIII	*sva*	B	l. 1	*svasti*
29. IX	*sti*	C	l. 1	*svasti*

29. X	*sphu*	C	l. 1	*sphuta°*
29. XI	*syā*	C	l. 2	*tasyā*
29. XVIII	*su*	D		
29. XX	*sā*	E		*Sāmantadeva*
29. XXI	*spa*	E		*Spalapaiideva*
30. I	*ha*	A	l. 2	*°hasta*
30. II	*hi*	A	l. 4	*Śāhi*
30. VI	*hā*	B	l. 1	*mahārājā°*
30. IX	*hu*	C	l: 4	*hutāśa*
30. XVIII	*ha*	D		
30. XX	*hi*	E		*Bhīmadeva, Shāhi*
31. I	1	D		
		also B	l. 1	
31. II	1	D		
		also B	l. 1	
31. III	2	D		
31. IV	3	D		
31. V	3	D		
31. VI	4	D		
31. VII	4	D		
31. VIII	5	D		
31. IX	6	D		
31. X	7	D		
31. XI	8	D		
31. XII	9	D		
31. XIII	0	D		
		also B	l. 1	
31. XIV	200 in symbol	E		*Spalapatideva*
31. XV	,,	E		*Spalapatideva*
31. XVI	,,	E		*Spaladatideva*
31. XVII	,,	E		*Spaladatideva*
31. XVIII	,,	E		*Spalapatideva*

Chapter VI

COINAGE

HISTORY OF BULL AND HORSEMAN TYPE COINS ISSUED BY THE SHĀHI KINGS

The study of the coinage of the Shāhi kings of Afghanistan and Punjab begins with the findings of James Tod in the early part of the 19th century, when he collected bull and horseman type coins at Nadolaye in Rajasthan.[1] Tod did not favour the public with any drawings of coins or any comments on their age and locality and attributed the coins to the Chauhāna kings without any attempt at decipherment of the Indian legends on these coins. Tod intended to discuss these coins but somehow he was not able to do the same.[2] In August 1833, for the second time, Swiney sent a sealing-wax impression, of the bull and horseman type coin to James Prinsep,[3] to whom Stacy, who explored the very field in which these coins must have been at one period current, wrote a letter in the next August, indicating fair hopes of becoming acquainted with the dynasty and individuals to whom the coins belong and from a study of the characters on them. A somewhat comprehensive study of the bull and horseman type of coins by James Prinsep appeared in December, 1835 with the descriptions of a number of coins.[5] In 1837 he attributed the coins to the Brāhmaṇa rulers of Punjab with a probability of their being of Kabul.[6] Likewise H.H. Wilson conjectured that the issuers of the coins reigned in the Punjab at the end of the 10th century.[7] Some of the coins were described by Wilson in 1841 under the heading of 'Rajput' series of 'Hindu Coins'.[8] The attributions of the coins were more critically studied by E. Thomas in 1848.[9] Later, in 1858, he found a chance to comment upon the attributions suggested by James Prinsep.[10] With these writings the study of the coinage of the Shāhi kings of Afghanistan and Punjab gained a firm footing.

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[1] J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1960 reprint, Vol. I, p. 551, also f. n. 2.

[2] *loc. cit.*

[3] *JASB*, Vol. II, 1833, p. 416.

[4] Cf. Stacy's letter to James Prinsep. *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, ed. by E. Thomas. London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 300.

[5] *JASB*, Vol. IV, 1835, pl. XXXI.

In 1882 E.C. Bayley, giving descriptions of some of the coins with suggestion as to the correct readings of some of their legends, also remarked on the dates occurring on the coins.[11] According to him the dates were expressed in the Gupta era. The problem of dates was also tackled by J.F. Fleet, who suggested the rendering of dates in the Śaka era.[12] The latter view was acceptable to the scholars[13] of those days but is now untenable. A study of the coin of this series was made by A. Cunningham in 1893[14] and published in 1894.[15] V.A. Smith published his studies in 1906.[16] Both these contributions formed the base for further studies of this series of coins by scholars such as B.B. Bidyabinod,[17] C.V. Vaidya,[17a] H.C. Ray[18] and others.

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[6] As mentioned by E. Thomas, *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, p. 178.

[7] *loc. cit.*

[8] H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, pp. 428 ff.

[9] *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, pp. 177 ff.

[10] *Essays on Indian Antiquitieis*, pp. 213 ff.

[11] *NC*, third series, Vol. II, 1882, pp. 128 ff. and 291. ff.

[12] *IA*, Vol. XV, 1886, pp. 185 ff.

[13] Cf. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue af the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p. 245.

[14] *CMI*, Preface. p. vi.

[15] The first impression was published in 1894 from London.

[16] *op. cit.*, pp. 243

[17] *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 60 ff.

[17a] *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. III, Poona, 1926, pp. 64 f.

[18] *DHNI*, pp. 102 f.

J. Ph. Vogel and R. Burn,[19] J.F. Fleet,[20] and more recently S.C. Ray[21] have discussed about the attribution of the coins with the legend *Ashaṭapāla*.

The problem of the bull and horseman device being an imitation from a foreign coinage was discussed by A. S. Altekar,[22] and Naji Al Asil in 1946.[23]

Of recent studies, the most important is the notice about the gold coin of Bhīmadeva by A. Ghose.[24] A valuable contribution on the bull and horseman type of coins was made by H. de S. Shortt who was lucky enough to study the Shāhi coins in a hoard.[25] The Shāhi coins noticed from U.S.S.R. and Europe since 1853 are discussed by A.A. Bykov, who concludes that there were trade relations in those days, between the Shāhi kingdom and the West.[26] L. Gopal has contributed a study of the metrology of the Shāhi coins[27] and also has presented a study of the coin-types of the series collecting nearly all the information[28] and leaving out accidentally a few points only. The coins of Sāmantadeva, with the notice of a new type, have been studied very recently by

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[19] *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Pt. 1, J. Ph. Vogel, Calcutta, 1911, p. 268.

[20] *IA*, Vol. XLII. 1913, pp. 309 ff,

[21] *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pt , 1. 1954, pp. 109 ff.

[22] *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pt. 1, 1946, pp. 75 ff., also, Pt. 2, pp. 153 f.

[23] *ibid*., pt. 2, pp. 152 ff. The issues of Muslim king with Hindu types are comprehensively dealt with by J. Walker (*NC*, sixth series, Vol. VI, 1946, pp. 121 ff.).

[24] *ibid*., Vol. XII, 1952, pp. 133 ff.

[25] *ibid*., Vol. XVI, 1956, pp. 313 ff.

[26] *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, pt. 2, 1965, pp. 146 ff. P. L. Gupta has also expressed alike views, ('Coins in tha Foreign Trade of Ancient India, paper submitted to the 2-th International Congress of Orientalists, *Abstract of Papers*, South Asia, Canberra, 1971, p. 33).

[27] *The Economic Life of Northern India*. Varanasi. 1965 pp. 215 ff.

[28] *Early Mediaeval Coin Types of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 28 ff. and 70 ff.

A. K. Shrivastava.[29] A study into the typology of the coins Shāhi kings has also been presented by the author of the present dissertation while discussing about the common coin types of North-Western India in the Early Mediaeval times.[30] He has also studied about the economy affected by the invasions of the Muslims and Kashmir kings on the Shāhi kingdom as gleaned out from the debasement of silver coins.[31] An interesting article by D.W. MacDowall dealing with the numismatic and historical studies connected with the Shāhis[32] appeared at the very time when this chapter was almost ready, and many points of mine are supported by his views. Coins of the Shāhi kings are brought to notice also by S. Prakash,[33] D.C. Sircar,[34] S. Sahay[35] and A.K. Bhattacharyya.[36]

COMMON COIN TYPES OF NORTH WESTERN INDIA IN THE EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

The Early Mediaeval coinage of North-Western India shows two main trends of its types. The first one is the so-called Indo-Sassanian coins issued by the Hūṇa kings and their imitations by Indian powers, and the other is the coins issued by the Shāhi kings and their imitations by other powers.

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[29] 'Coins of Sāmantadeva a Hindu King of Ohind', paper submitted to the Seminar on the *Early Mediaeval Coins of Northern India*, organised by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Lucknow, on January 4, 1968.

[30] 'Study of the Types of Coins of North-Western India', paper submitted to the above mentioned Seminar at Lucknow.

[31] 'Economic Information from Post-Foreign Invasion Coinages of India', paper submitted to the Seminar on the *Coins as Source of Economic History*, organised by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, on October 29, 1969.

[32] *NC*, seventh series, Vol, VIII, 1968, pp. 189 ff.

[33] *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, 1960, pp. 276 ff.

[34] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1954-55, pp. 94 ff. also in foreword to the *Indian Coins in Musee Guimet* by A. K. Bhattacharyya, Calcutta, 1971, p. 1.

[35] 'A Note on the Coins of Shāhis of Ohind', paper submitted to the above mentioned Seminar at Patna.

[36] *op. cit.*, p. 37.

TYPES OF THE SHĀHI COINS

I. Silver and Copper Coins

The silver and copper coins of the Shāhi kings fall into two groups. The first group shows a lion on one side with a peacock or elephant on the other side of the coins. The second group shows the bull and horseman. The largest number of coins belong to the latter group and a few only to the former.

The following chart lists the names of the kings and their respective types in different metals :

NAME OF THE KINGS	TYPES	METALS
	Group A	
	i	
Kamalavarman (deva?)	Lion and Peacock or Haṁsa	AE
	ii	
Bhīmadeva	Elephant and Lion	AE
Sāmantadeva	"	AE, AR
Vakkadeva	"	AE
	Group B	
	i	
Bhīmadeva	Bull and Horseman	AR
Khvadavayaka	"	AR
Sāmantadeva	"	AE, AR, Billon
Spalapatideva	"	AE, AR
Vakkadeva	"	AE
	ii	
Sāmantadeva	Bull and king on elephant	AR

The Devices

It will be interesting to trace the origin of the devices referred to and to discuss their adoption by the Shāhi kings. Let us consider the problem under the following heads:

A. LION AND PEACOCK OR ELEPHANT DEVICES

i. Lion

The earliest numismatic depiction of a lion in India is found on the punch-marked coins.[37] The motif is also found on the uninscribed cast coins[38] and local coins of Taxila[39] which may show its association with the region. Some of unassignable die-struck coins also bear the depiction of lion.[40] The coinage of the foreign dynasties of the Indo-Greeks,[41] Indo-Parthians[42] and Śakas[43] shows the motif but not invariably. The coins of the Sātavāhanas[44] and Pallavas[45] depict it quite invariably. The

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[37] V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 142, coin no. 101.

[38] J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1936, pp. 85, coin no. 3 and pp. 93 ff. coin nos. 107-160.

[39] *ibid.*, Introduction 157, pp. cxxiv f., for specimens, Uninscribed Taxila Coins, Class II, pp. 223 ff. and 237 ff. ; V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 157, coin nos. 14-18 ; also J. Allan, *op. cit.*, Uncertain Local Coins, pp. 282 ff.

[40] V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 204, coin no. 12.

[41] A. K. Narain, *The Coin Types of the Indo-Greek Kings*, Bombay, 1955, Coins of Pantaleon, pp. 7 f., Copper nos. 1 and 2, Nickel no. 1 ; Agathoclese, pp. 8 f., Copper nos. 1 and 2, Nickel no. 1; Menander, pp. 14 f., Copper nos. 2 and 15 ; Artimedorus, p. 32, Copper no. 2.

[42] G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *The Coin Types of the Saka-Pahlava Kings of India*, Varanasi, 1957, Coins of Maues, p. 1, Bronze No. 9 ; Azes I, p. 8, Bronze no. 27 ; Azilises, p. 11, Bronze nos. 31 and 34 ; Azes II, pp. 14 f,, Bronze Nos. 28-33 and 35 ; *Zeionises*, pp. 24 f., Bronze nos. 2 and 5.

[43] *ibid.*, Coins of Bhūmaka, pp. 31 f., Copper nos. 1-3 ; Māna, p. 44, Lead no. 1 and also Coins of miscellaneous Śaka kings, p. 45.

[44] M. Rama Rao, *List of Published Satavahana Coins*, Varanasi, 1958, Coins of Sātakarṇi I, p. 5, no. 19 ; Sātakarṇi II, p. 6, nos. 24 and 26 ; Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, p. 10, no. 49 ; Vaṣishthīputra Pulumāvi, p. 14, no. 69 ; Sātakarṇi IV, p. 15, no. 76 ; Śaka Sātakarṇī, p. 17, nos. 84 and 85 ; Śrī Yajna Sātakaṇi, p. 21, no. 107.

[45] V. Prakash, *Coinage of South India*, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 35 f., 43 ff., for specimens pp. 50 ff.

Chola king Rājendra I also depicted a lion on one of his coin types.[46] The motif is also found on some of the coins of the time of Mihirakula but of unassignable nature.[47]

The significance of the lion to be depicted on ancient Indian coins is, however, difficult to explain except on the assumption that it represented the valour and supremacy of the authority concerned. The Pallavas used the lion motif as the royal insignia.[48] The Indo-Greek king Agathocles depicts the motif for the first time on his coins which show clear Indian influences. There is every possibility of this being a local motif adopted by him. But at the same time we are reminded of the panther of the Greeks. Thus, though we are not able to say anything conclusive regarding the depiction of the lion by the Indo-Greeks, the possibility of its being a royal insignia seems not to be ruled out. However, it is quite certain that the Shāhis did not use the motif like the Pallavas. The probability rather favours the other suggestion referred to above.

ii. Peacock

The depiction of a peacock may be found on the punch-marked coins[49] and then again on some of the Gupta coins[50] and their imitations,[51] and on the coins of the Hūṇas[52] and Maukharis.[53]

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[46] *ibid.*, p. 93, no. 14.

[47] V. A. Smith *op. cit.*, p. 237, Unassignable: Period of Mihirakula, Coin nos. 2 and 3.

[48] Cf. V. Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[49] J. Allan *op. cit.*, Introduction 21, p. xxv, for specimens, pp. 25 ff., 31 ff.

[50] A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Varanasi, 1957, Coins of Kumāragupta I, Silver Class, VI, pp. 230 ff.; Class VIII, pp. 233 f.; Gold, pp. 203; Skandagupta, Silver Class IV, pp. 257 ff.; Budhagupta, Silver, pp. 278 f.

[51] *ibid.*, Coin of Bhīmarāja p. 318; Harikānta, pp. f.

[52] *ibid.*, p. 20, no. 11.

[53] *ibid.*, p. 20, no. 12.

The motif was probably selected by the Gupta emperors because the bird represented the god Kārttikeya whose synonyms (Kumāra and Skanda) were the names of the emperors.[54] In this way the peacock seems to have served the religio-personal needs of the Guptas. However, the other dynasties only imitated it.

iii. Elephant

The elephant is found on the punch-marked coins,[55] copper cast coins[56] and the uninscribed and inscribed local coins of different localities and tribes.[57] Afterwards the Indo-Greeks,[58] Indo-Parthians,[59] Sātavāhanas[60] and Sakas[61] also depicted this motif on their coins. In the post-Gupta period Jayanāga Prakāṇḍayaśasa depicted the elephant on his coins.[62] The motif was also adopted by the Pāṇḍyas[63] and Cheras.[64]

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[54] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 203 and 229.

[55] J. Allan, *op. cit.*, Introduction 22, p. xxvi, for specimens, pp. 11 ff., 30, 38, 43, 50, 58. f., 60 ff., 63, 64 f., 66 ff., 75, 76 ff., 79 ff., 82.

[56] *ibid.*, Introduciion, p. lxxiv, for specimens, pp. 86 ff.

[57] *ibid.*, Local Coins of Taxila, Introduction 152, pp. cxxx, cxxxvii, for specimens, Uninscribed Class 2, pp. 223 ff.. Inscribed Class 3, pp. 218 ff. ; Erana, Introduction, p. xc, for specimens, Uninscribed pp. 141 ff. ; Kauśāmbī, Introduction, pp. xcv, xcviii ff., Coins of Sudeva and Bṛihaspatimitra, pp. 150, 146, no. 59, 157, nos. 65 and 66 ; Ujjainī Introduction, p. cxli, for specimens, Uninscribed, Class 5, Variety *b* pp. 261 f., Class 7, p. 262 ; Ayodhyā, Introduction, p. lxxxvii, for specimens, Coins of Vāyudeva, p. 130 ; Sivadatta, pp. 133 ff. ; Tribal coins of Kāda, Introduction, p. xcii, for specimens, p. 148 ; Audumbara, Introduction, p. lxxxiii, for specimens, Coins of Sivadāsa, p. 122 ; Rudradāsa, pp. 122 f. ; Mahādeva, pp. 123 f. ; Rudravarmā, p. 125 ; Āryamitra pp. 125 f. ; Mahimitra, pp. 126 f. ; Bhānumitra, pp. 127 ff. ; Yaudheya, Introduction, p. cxlvii, for specimens, Class 2, variety *a* and *e*, pp. 267 ff. ; also pp, 280 ff.

[58] A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, Coins of Antimachus I, p. 6, Copper nos. 1 and 2 ; Menander, p. 15, Copper no. 10 ; Helioclese II, p. 21 Copper nos. 1 and 2 ; Archebius, p. 22, Copper no. 4 ; Lysius, p. 25, Copper no. 1 ; Apollodouts, p. 27, Silver no. 1 ; Zoilus II, p. 30, Copper nos. 2-5.

[59] G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, Coins of Maues, p. 2, Bronze nos. 29, 30, 38 ; Azes II, II, p. 14, Bronze nos. 23-26 ; Zeionises, p. 24, Bronze no. 4.

[60] M. Rama Rao, *op. cit.*, Coins of Sātavāhana, p. 1, nos. 2 and 3 ; Sātakarṇi I, pp. 2 f., no. 11, p. 4, nos. 14, 16, p. 5, nos. 17, 20 ; Āpilaka, p. 5 ; Sātakarṇi, II, p. 6, nos. 23, 25 ; Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, pp. 9 f. ; Vāsishthīputra Pulumāvi, p. 13 ; Sātakarṇi IV, p. 15 ; Śiva Śrī, p. 17 ; Śaka Sātakarṇi. p. 18 ; Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, p. 19 ; Vijaya Sātakarṇi, p. 22 ; Chaṇḍa Sātakarṇi, p. 22 ; Pulumāvi IV and Skanda Sātakarṇi, p. 23 ; Rudra Sātakarṇi. pp. 23 f. ; Kumbha Sāiakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Kauśikīputra Sātakarṇi, p. 24.

[61] G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, Coins of Jayadāman, p. 34, Copper no. 2 ; Rudrasena I, p. 37 Potin no. 4 ; Dāmasena, p. 38 Potin no. 3.

Thus there are a good many references to show the use and continuity of lion, peacock and elephant motifs on the coinages preceding the Shāhi coins. The device elephant and lion is only found on the Taxilan coins[65] other than on the coins of the Shāhi kings. The lion and peacock device is totally new on the part of the Shāhis.

iv. Haṁsa

The Haṁsa is never noticed on ancient Indian coins. If depicted, it is completely novel, on the part of the Shāhis.

B. BULL AND HORSEMAN OR KING ON ELEPHANT DEVICE

i. Bull

The depiction of the bull is a very common feature of the coins of ancient India[66] as it is found on nearly all the series of Indian coins. It is a religious symbol specially related with god Śiva. The flourishing state of Śaivism in the times of the Shāhis is well evidenced[67] and may have led the Shāhi kings to depict the bull on their coins, though this explanation will not serve the purpose quite satisfactorily as there were other religions also in popular practice among the population and kings. The Vaishṇava ruler Bhīmadeva had followed the practice of depicting bull which suggests that the bull has nothing to do with the religion of the king concerned but as simply a numismatic tradition of the dynasty.

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[62] A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 332, no. 3.

[63] V. Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 59, for specimens, pp. 68 f.

[64] *ibid.*, p. 102.

[65] J. Allan, *op. cit.*, Uninscribed, Class 2, pp. 223 ff.

[66] *ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxv.

[67] Cf. *Infra*, pp. 244 f.

ii. Horseman

The horseman is found on the Indo-Greek coins where mounted dioscuroi[68] and king on horseback[69] are depicted. The Indo-Parthian coins mostly depict the king on horseback.[70] The coins of the Kushāṇa king 'Soter Megas' also show this motif.[71] The Gupta emperors also adopted it.[72] The motif is also found on the Hūṇa coins[73] and afterwards on the Shāhi coins.

iii. King on Elephant

The single known specimen of Sāmantadeva depicts the king on elephant motif like the Kushāṇas[74] and Guptas.[75].

The horseman or king on elephant and bull devices are for the first time met with on the coins of Indo-Parthian[76] rulers and then on the Shāhi coins. The bull and horseman device became very popular in later days and was continued by many dynasties up to 17th century A.D.[77]

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[68] A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, Coins of Eucratides I, pp. 10 f. ; Diomedes, p. 34.

[69] *ibid.*, Coins of Menandar, p. 14, Silver no. 10 ; Antimachus II, p. 22. Silver no 1 ; Philoxenes, p. 23, Silver ; Nicias, p. 28, Copper no. 1 ; Hippostratus, p. 29, Silver nos. 2 and 3 ; Hermaeus, p. 36, Silver no. 4, Copper no. 2 ; Hermaeus with Calliope, p. 37, Silver no. 1.

[70] See, G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, Pt. 1.

[71] B. Chattopaddhyaya, *The Age of the Kushāṇas—A Numismatic Study*, Calcutta, 1967, Coins of the nameless King 'Soter Megas, pp. 50 f., Classes I, II and IV.

[72] A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Coins of Chandaragupta II, Gold, pp. 121 ff. ; Kumāragupta I, Gold, pp. 174 ff. ; Copper, pp. 353 ff. ; Skandagupta, Gold, pp. 249 ff.

[73] *NC*, third series, Vol. XIII, 1893, Unassigned Jabuli coins, pp. 277 f., nos. 6-7.

[74] B. Chattopaddhyaya, *op. cit.*, Coins of Kadphises, p. 42, Gold, Class IV ; Huvishka, p. 82, Gold, Class IV ; p. 83, Copper, Type I. 'The riders' motif three elephants with is noticed on the coins of the local rulers of Mathura, (J. Allan, *op. cit*, pp. 170 ff.)

[75] A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Coins of Kumāragupta I, Gold, pp. 194 ff.; for elephant-rider lion-slayer type, pp. 195 ff.

[76] G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, Bull and Horseman device, Coins of Azes, p. 7, Bronze nos. 19-22 ; Azelises, p. 11, Bronze nos. 39-44. The coins of the Kushāṇa Kings, Kadphises II, B. Chattopaddhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 42, Gold, Class VI and Huvishka *ibid.*, p. 83 Copper, Class I with type I following the VI, reverse do not show bull with the king on elephant motif but the god Śiva is represented instead.

J. Prinsep once suggested that the device of Group B *i* is an imitation from ancient motifs of the West.[78] The type is taken by Prinsep as an imitation in consequence of a poverty of native invention.[79] The king on elephant device of group B. *ii* would have also been treated like the horseman and bull type if known by that time, as this type also shows resemblance to an Indo-Parthian device. The view of Prinsep seems not convincing because if there was a need of imitation, the Gupta and Hūṇa coins were much nearer in time for the purpose. The favour to the Indo-Parthian devices given by the Shāhi kings is not a case of the poverty of native invention but rather one of the local popularity of the device, which led the Shāhis to make the choice.

The bull and horseman device of the Shāhi kings is taken by Naji Al Asil[80] to be an imitation of the device of a coin type issued by the Abbasid Caliph Al Muqtadir Billah Ja'afar which bears bull and horseman with legends in Kufic letters.[81] On the other hand he also admits the possibility of Caliph's dirham being Indian in origin,[82] since the bull resembles an Indian bull and the horseman is represented as carrying the reins in his right hand, contrary to the Arab custom. A.S. Altekar seems to be right in taking the Caliph's coin type as an imitation of Indian coin type of the Shāhis[83] in view of the fact that the coin type was started by Indian kings about fifty years before the reign of Al Muqtadir. Altekar,[84] following M.A. de Longperier[85] suggests that either the coin type was borrowed by the Caliph from the Shāhis, or some Hindu chief, recently converted to Islam, a feudatory of the Caliph, issued the coins. The commemorative nature of the coin, observed by Naji Al Asil,[86] provides evidence to support the latter suggestion. The weight and size also correspond to the Indian coins. Thus there is every possibility that the Caliph's coin type was imitated from India and the issuing of these coins was somehow correlated with the North-Western Indian lands, most probably Kabul. Such coins are taken by J. Walker to be propaganda pieces purposely struck in order to win the approval of the Hindu tribes of the Kabul valley.[87]

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[77] Cf. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f. ; L. Gopal, *Early Mediaeval Coin Types of Northern India*, pp. 28-36 ; also D. B. Pandey, *op. cit.* and J. Walker, *op. cit.*, 121 ff.

[78] *op. cit.*, pp. 301 ff,

[79] *ibid.*, p. 303.

[80] *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pt. 2, 1946, p. 153.

[81] For the coin of Al Muqtadir Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pt. 1, p. 75 ; also J. Walker, *op. cit.*, illustration. There were more than one ruler who issued coins with Hindu types, Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 121 ff.

[82] *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pt. 2, 1946, p. 153.

[83] *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pt, 1, 1946, pp. 77 f. also pt. 2, pp. 153 f.

II. Gold Coin

The single gold coin of Bhīmadeva presents the king seated with a female figure on the obverse. The female appears on both sides of the coin, standing on the obverse and seated on a lotus holding a lotus bud and a *rājadaṇḍa* on the reverse. Though the idea may have been taken from the king and queen on conch type coins of Chandragupta II,[88] the motif on the Shāhi coin has its own originality.

METALS USED FOR COINS

One could only agree with A. Cunningham,[89] and V.A. Smith[90] that the Shāhi kings struck coins only in silver and copper after an incomplete study[91] of the coinage of the Shāhi kings of Afghanistan and Punjab. With the discovery of a gold coin of Bhīmadeva[92] it is proved that coins were issued in gold also. The following is the chart showing the names of the kings and the metals in which they issued coins :

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[84] *loc. cit.*

[85] *JRAS,* 1848, p. 187.

[86] *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pt. 2, 1946, p. 152.

[87] *op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff. For a summary of his contribution, Cf. *Numismatic Literature*, No. 5, October, 1948, p. 153.

[88] A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, King and queen on couch type, p. 138 ff., Pl. IX, no. 6.

[89] *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.

[90] *op. cit.*, p. 246.

NAMES OF THE KINGS	METALS		
Bhīmadeva	AE	AR	AV
Kamalavarman	AE		
Khvadavayaka		AR	
Sāmantadeva	AE	AR Billon	
Spalapatideva	AE	AR	
Vakkadeva	AE		

SHAPE OF THE COINS

All the coins are round in shape.

TECHNIQUE OF MINTING

The coins clearly show that they are produced by the method of die striking on prepared round pieces of metal.

ARTISTIC EXECUTION

The artistic execution of the coins no doubt shows deterioration if compared with the coinage of the Gupta and post-Gupta times. But if we compare these coins with contemporary Indian coinage we will find that the coins of the Shāhi kings are executed more artistically than those of the other ruling powers.

The animals depicted are natural and lively. The human figures are certainly of less perfection in their execution. The legends on the coins are well placed and generally very clear.

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[91] L. Gopal expressed his view following Cunningham and Smith (*The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 215) though the gold coin of Bhīmadeva was published before his publication (for the discovery of the gold coin, Cf. *NC*, sixth series, Vol. VII, 1952, pp. 133 ff.).

[92] Cf. A. Ghose, *ibid.*, p. 133.

On the whole the coins have a pleasing effect. The execution of motifs may well be categorised in three groups the coins showing three dimentional execution, line drawings, and imitations from line drawings.[93]

LEGEND PATTERN

The pattern of the legends on the Shāhi coins has two forms. The silver and copper pieces, except a few of Spalapatideva, show the legend on the one side only. Some coins of Spalapatideva and the gold coin of Bhīmadeva have legends on both sides.

The obverse legend consists of the name of the king with the honourific prefix *Śrī*. The king's name ending with *visarga* is found on the coins of Śāmantedeva and Khvadavayaka. The legend on the gold coin of Bhīmadeva is the solitary example where the word Shāhi is added to the usual obverse legend.

The coins of Spalapatideva present a legend in corrupt Bactrian and literate Brāhmī, to be read as *Śrī Spalapati* and *Shāhideva* according to D.W. MacDowall.[94] In our opinion both the legends are alike and changes have occurred due to misunderstood imitations of the Bactrian legend. Later on the legend was so much corrupted that it took the form of an Arabic numeral. The reverse legend of the gold coin of Bhīmadeva consists of a title *Sāmantadeva* with the honorific prefix *Srīmada*.

METROLOGY

The weights of the coins have not been recorded throughout. J. Prinsep noted the average weight of the series "a little exceediding 50 grains".[95] L. Gopal has treated the problem of metrology afresh, but he utilises only the information provided by A. Cunningham and V. A. Smith.[96] D.W. MacDowall has attempted the problem comprehensively.[97].

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[93] For the art activity of the period, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 231 ff.

[94] *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff., also 212 f.

[95] *op. cit.*, p. 303.

The average weights of the silver coins show three denominations whose weights are in the ratio of 1:2:3. The average weights of copper coins show five denominations in two groups. The first group shows the ratio of 1:2:3:4. The second group consists of only one weight.

J. Prinsep identified the coins of the latter group to be a *Taṅka* of 3 *Māshas*. However, the *Taṅka* was introduced in India after the Muslims coined their money and thus it is not possible to agree with Prinsep's view. There might be a possibility that these coins were called *Taṅka* in later days. The independent study of L. Gopal,[98] without noticing Prinsep's suggestion, proposes that these coins follow the *Purāṇa* weight standard.[99] He is right in identifying the other lower denominations also. The only point of discussion is the identification of the lowest denomination, which is taken as one-eighth of the standard weight, since he notes that a specimen weighs 7.0 grains.[100] However, it is interesting to note that no specimen of A. Cunningham weighs 7.0 grains, but a specimen weighing 5.1 grains is taken by Cunningham to be near to the weight 7.0 grains.[101] The suggestion is untenable because the weight 5.1 grains is nearer to 5.4 grains and may be taken as *Addhyardha Māshaka* of 3 *Rattis* (3 x 1.8=5.4 grains)

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[96] *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 181 ff.

[97] *op. cit.*, Appendix A, pp. 219 ff.

[98] *ibid.*, p. 182.

[99] The highest weight of the coins preserved is not 54.2 grains as noted by Gopal, but about 58.0 grains (Cf. D. W. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, p. 221, copper coins of Spalapati in tables III and IV weighing 3.75 gms=57.795 grains).

[100] *ibid.*, p. 183.

[101] *op. cit.*, p. 64, description of coin nos. 12 and 13.

L. Gopal did not notice the gold coin of Bhīmadeva. This solitary specimen weighs 68.0 grains and may well be taken as the *Ardha-suvarṇa* of 40 *Rattīs* (40 x 1.8=72.0 grains).

The loss of weights of coins is taken by Gopal as due to the depreciation in coin-weights at the time of their issue. But a considerable margin for their wearing may also be given. The gradual loss of weight may be explained by taking the lesser weights as showing more circulation.

METROLOGICAL TABLE

(weights in grains)

Maximum weight	Minimum weight	Nearest ancient weight (1 Rattī=1.8 grains)
		GOLD COIN
68.0	-	72.0 (*Ardha-suvarṇa*)
		SILVER COINS
55.6	44.5	57.6 (*Kārshāpaṇa*)
42.0	33.0	43.2 (*Tripāda-kārshāpaṇa*)
29.9	-	28.8 (*Ardha-kārshāpaṇa*)
		COPPER COINS
58.0	44.5	57.6 (*Kārshāpaṇa*)
43.5	30.7	43.2 (*Tripāda-kārshāpaṇa*)
30.3	19.0	28.8 (*Aadha-kārshāpaṇa*)
12.0	-	14.4 (*Pāda-kārshāpaṇa*)
5.1	-	5.4 (*Addhyardha-māshaka*)

Now we discuss the coins of the kins.[102]

COINS OF BHĪMADEVA

PLATE VI

The coins of Bhīmadeva are knawn in copper, silver and also in gold. Only a unique elephant and lion type is known in copper (PLATE VI. 3). The silver coins are of bull and horseman type (PLATE VI 2). Only five silver specimens are known.[103] A. Cunningham notices that the lion of the copper coin of Bhīmadeva is like the lion of the coins of Vakkadeva and Sāmantadeva.[104] On the silver coins some indistinct figures are noticed in front of the horse. The legend on the reverse is *Śrī Bhīmadeva.*

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[102] For chronological consideration, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 206 ff.

A. Ghose refers to some coins of Bhīmadeva with the legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva* on the reverse and *Śrī Bhīma* on the obverse.[105] Unfortunately he quotes no authority for rechecking of those coins. Not a single published coin with the legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva* shows *ma* in front of the horseman. If there is any basis in this statement these letters should be treated like the other symbols on the coins of Sāmantadeva and Spalapatideva, being simply mint marks. D. W. MacDowall is inclined to connect the issues of Sāmantadeva bearing the mark *bhī* behind the horseman with Bhīmadeva. However, he himself says, 'But neither Bhīm nor Bhīmapāla can be the king responsible for all the coins with *bhi* ...as these are coextensive with all the silver issues of Sāmanta and continue on to the two major billon series of Sāmanta as well.[106]

The gold coin of Bhīmadeva is unique (PLATE VI, 1). The coin presents a more or less similar motif on the obverse and reverse. The king Bhīmadeva is represented as sitting on throne with a standing female figure to his right. A. Ghose takes her an attendant figure. The king holds his right hand out as if giving or receiving something from the female attendant and his left hand is akimbo, resting on his thigh. On the reverse the male figure is in kingly pose (*rājalīlā*) on a *vetrāsana* (wicker seat). The *āsana* may well be called a *chatushkī*. The right hand is raised and the left hand akimbo resting on the thigh. The female figure is seated cross-legged on a lotus, and holds a lotus and a *rājadaṇḍa* in her hands.

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[103] A. Ghose states incorrectly that Bhīmadeva is known only from three silver and one copper coins (*op. cit.*, p. 134).

[104] *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[105] *op cit.*, p. 135. A. F. R. Hoernle has noticed some coins with legend *Bhīma* on the obverse with *Śrī Sāmantadeva* on the reverse (*PASB*, August 1889, p. 198). However, these coins bear no *Śrī Bhīma* as referred to by A. Ghose. Hoernle seems to refer the *Bhīma* legend on the coins of Spalapatideva also (*loc. cit.*). These scholars have taken these letters on left and right to be read together which are actually mint marks.

[106] *op. cit.*, p. 211.

The obverse of the coin has the legend *Shāhi Śri Bhimadeva*. The legend on the reverse is taken to be *Śrīmadguṇanidhi- -Śrī Sāmantadeva* by C. Sivaramamurti.[107] A. Ghose has accepted the reading without any hesitation.[108] But the proposed reading seems incorrect. The letter after *da* looks like a loop open towards the *bottom* with a slight stroke on the right top. This letter in any case cannot be taken as *gu*. At the most it will be either *ga* or *gā*. The next letter, deciphered as *ṇa*, has also nothing like the form of *ṇa*. It is very near to *ta*. The next letter shows every possibility of being *sa* instead of *ni*, since the medial *i* shows no loop at the top but a straight line as it is forming the head line of the letter *sa* with a stroke for *ā*. The letter next to it is certainly not *dha*. The rest of the four signs cannot be read as *Śri Sāmantadeva*, for which six signs are required. The correct reading is difficult to suggest but it is agreed that the legend comprises *Śrīmada-Sāmantadeva*.[109]

The copper coin shows no mint marks. The silver coins present the marks behind and in front of the horseman. The gold coin shows marks below the throne and in between the king and attendant on the obverse.

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[107] A. Ghose, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

[108] *loc. cit.*

[109] °*gata*° may be suggested for the gaps.

COIN OF KAMALAVARMAN

PLATE VI

The single copper coin of this king (PLATE VI, 4) is noticed by E. C. Bayley.[110] This British Museum piece shows a lion and peacock device. The legend above the lion was read by Bayley as *Śrī Kumāra.* He also suggests the probability of its being *Śrī Kumāra.*[111] The line drawing of the coin was published by Bayley[112] and later on the photograph was published by A. Cunningham.[113] H. C. Ray did not find the coin in the British Museum[114] but its existence cannot be denied, as Cunningham had it photographed. Hence the probability of Bayley's coin to have been like the coin of Kamaladeva suggested by Ray[115] has no ground, since the coin in question was photographed by Cunningham. Probably Ray took the peacock as a haṁsa and the coin referred to by Ray was actually of the lion and peacock type.

Cunningham followed the reading of Bayley without giving and notice to the probability that the reading may also be *Śrī Kumāra*, suggested by Bayley.[116] However, the greater possibility is of its being *Kamala* and not *Kamara* or *Kumāra*, because the last letter may well be taken as the part of the letter *la.* The coin weighs 30.3 grains and hence is an *Ardhakārshāpaṇa.*

The coin of Kamaladeva is recorded as showing a *haṁsa* on its obverse and the legend on the reverse is taken as *Śrī Kamaladeva* by Ray.[117] No photograph or line drawing of the coin is published and it is not possible to check the device and legend. But, if at all the coin bore a *hamsa* figure the device is different than the other coins. However, we have suggested above that the coin is perhaps the same which was published by E. C. Bayley. The legend read *Kamaladeva* by H. C. Ray seems to have been suggested on the analogy of the legends like *Spalapatideva*, *Sāmantadeva*, *Vakkadeva* and *Bhīmadeva*. The specimen bore only *Kama* [*la*]. The issue may well be attributed to the king Kamalavarman, the father of Bhīmadeva. The coin weighs 40 grains and hence is a *Tripāda-kārshāpaṇa*.

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[110] *op. cit.*, p. 130.
[111] *loc. cit.* ; also p. 162.
[112] *ibid.*, pl. V, 1.
[113] *op. cit.*, pl. VII, 1.
[114] *DHNI*, p. 103.
[115] *loc. cit.*
[116] *op. cit.*, p. 62, no. 1.
[117] *op. cit.*, p. 102, coin no. 1.

COINS OF KHVADAVAYAKA

PLATE VI

The coins of Khvadavayaka of the bull and horseman type are in silver (PLATE VI, 5, 6) and are few in number. The legend is variously read as *Śrī Khuduvayakaḥ*, *Khamarayakaḥ* or *Khamaradaka*, and *Khudavayakaḥ* by M.A. Stein,[118] A. Cunningham,[119] and V. A. Smith[120] respectively. L. Gopal[121] and D.W. MacDowall[122] follow Smith's reading. The reading of Cunningham is far fetched and most conjectural. Smith is right in refusing to take the first letter as *kha*.[123] However Smith's reading of the first letter as *khu* is also not tenable. There should be no hesitation in reading the name of the king as *Khvadavayaka*, following Bayley[124] and others. The addition at the bottom of the right vertical of the letter *kha* should not be taken as a sign of the medial *u*. The leftward stroke turns horizontally to the right and meets with the right vertical, and thus it takes the form of the letter *va*.

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[118] Cf. V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[119] *CMI*, pp. 64 f., for his second reading see p. 59.

[120] *op. cit.*, pp. 244 and 249.

[121] *Early Medieval Coin-types of Northern India*, pp. 31 and 71 f.

[122] *op. cit.*, pp. 198 and 215.

[123] V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 244, f. n. 1.

[124] *op. cit.*, p. 129. However, on p. 163 while describing coin no. 17 the reading is wrongly printed as *Śrī Khvadayaka* in Roman letters and *Śri Kvalavayaka* in Devanāgarī. Bayley seems to have read the legend as *Śrī Khvadavayaka* as he notes the name of the king on p. 129.

The mint marks are found behind and in front of the horseman. The front symbol is replaced by a legend *adl* in Persian script on some specimens.

The weights of coins show that their denomination is *Kārshāpaṇa*.[125]

COINS OF SĀMANTADEVA

PLATE VII

The coins of Sāmantadeva comprise the largest number of the Shāhi coins. The coins are known in silver, copper and and billon. We notice three types of his coins : 1. Elephant and lion,[126] 2. Bull and horseman, 3. King on elephant and bull, the last type known only in silver.

The legend was read by J. Prinsep as *Śrī-Samagudeva* with possibility of the name being *Sāmantadeva*,[127] and by H.H. Wilson as *Samagradeva*,[128] which was soon corrected to be as *Sāmantadeva*. On the analogy of many other coins which clearly show that Sāmantadeva was a title used by different kings of the Early Medieval period, our coins under consideration may perhaps not show the name of the king.[129] But this view is not supported by the coins of the other Shāhi kings which show a pattern of giving the name of the king on their silver and copper coins and no title except the honorific prefixes.

The coins of bull and horseman type bear two symbols, one behind the head of the horseman and the other in front

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[125] D. W. MacDowall relates the issues of Khvadavayaka with Yaqub, the Muslim conqueror of Kabul in 870 A. D. (*op. cit.*, pp. 198 and 211), who issued coins according to the Arabic weight system. However, it does not seem probable that a conqueror should adopt a new metrology so hurriedly. It is more reasonable to take the issues as in Indian metrology, which was also imitated by the Arabs, certainly with the addition of the Persian legend.

[126] The single coin is noticed with blank reverse (Cf. N. K. Bhattasali, *Catalogue of Coins*, Dacca, 1939, p. 2, No. 2, not illustrated).

[127] E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p, 304.

[128] *op. cit.*, p. 428 f.

[129] D. W. MacDowall takes the legend as title (*op. cit.*, p. 211).

(PLATE VII, 1-4). The Arabic numeral type corrupt legend is found in front of the horse. A coin with lion motif shows five dots arranged diagonally above the lion (PLATE VII, 5).

The weights of the coins show that they were issued in the denominations of *Kārshāpaṇa* and *Tripāda-kārshāpaṇa* both in silver and copper and *Pāda-kārshāpaṇa* and *Addhyardhamāshaka* in copper only.

On the basis of metals, artistic execution and symbols D.W. MacDowall categorises the coins of Sāmantadeva in five chronological divisions.[130] It is difficult to agree in total with him, but it is certain, as other scholars also hold that there are certain coins which post-date the king.[131] Though we have no definite evidences as to why and by whom the coins of Sāmantadeva were minted after his death, it may be suggested that they were issued by some of the Muslim governors in the Western part of the Shāhi kingdom. MacDowall also suggests that some issues of Sāmantadeva were circulated by Jayapāla and his successors.[132]

COINS OF SPALAPATIDEVA

PLATE VIII

The coins of Spalapatideva are not so common as the coins of Sāmantadeva but certainly more so than the coins of any other Shāhi ruler. His coins are of bull and horseman type in both silver and copper (PLATE VIII). There are certain specimens which show that the issues of the Hūṇas were imitated by Spalapatideva.[133] The probability of this imitatiod is also supported by the evidences discussed above that the Hindu Shāhis came to the throne of the Turki Shāhis who belonged to the Hūṇa stock.[134]

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[130] *op. cit.*, pp. 197 ff.

[131] *NC*, sixth series, Vol. XVI, 1956, p. 314; P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, New Delhi. 1960, p. 69.

[132] *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[133] Cf. D. W. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff.

[134] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 82 ff.

The legend was read by J. Prinsep as *Śrī Syalapatideva.*[135] H.H. Wilson also took the name of the king as Syalapatideva.[136] He was followed by E. Thomas.[137] The correct name of the king was read as Spalapatideva by A. Cunningham[138] followed by V.A. Smith[139] and others.

The mint marks are found behind and in front of the horseman. The coins show some legend in front of the horse. On the basis of the legend in front of the horse and symbols on the reverse together with the execution of motifs D.W. MacDowall considers the coins of Spalapatideva belong to nine categories and to have been issued subsequent to his death.[140] However, this theory is very speculative. We may take the varieties of the silver coins to have been issued from different mints. MacDowall categorises the legends on right in three groups : corrupt Bactrian, literate Brāhmī and imitated without understanding the original appearing like some Arabic numeral. We have already made comments on this theory while dealing with the legends.[141] The letter found at 1 O'clock is nearly of one form in four varieties (PLATE VIII, 1-5) except the last two (PLATE VIII, 5, 6) and thus MacDowall's suggestion of more than one script and legend does not stand, and it is more plausible to take the legends as imitations of a single original.

The weights of coins show that they were issued in the *Kārshāpaṇa* denomination.

In rare instances a circle with dot in centre is seen on the head of the bull on the obverse and below the thigh of the horse on the reverse.

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[135] E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[136] *op. cit.*, p. 429.

[137] *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, pp. 181 and 186.

[138] *op. cit.*, pp. 58 and 63.

[139] *op. cit.*, pp. 244 and 246.

[140] *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[141] *Supra*, p. 192.

COINS OF VAKKADEVA

PLATE VI

Only a few specimens of the coins of Vakkadeva are known to us. The coins are only in copper and of two types —the one having elephant and lion (PLATE VI, 7) and the other a bull and horseman (PLATE VI, 8). The specimen of the latter type published by A. Cunningham[142] is taken by D. W. MacDowall as belonging to Spalapatideva.[143]

The legend on the coins was suggested by H. H. Wilson as Vaṇkadeva.[144] E. Thomas[145] and also C. J. Rodgers[146] followed Wilson. Thomas later on accepted the name as Varkadeva.[147] E.C. Bayley followed Thomas's latter reading.[148] A. Cunningham took the name of the king as Veṅkadeva.[149] The legend, however, does not show *anusvāra* on *va* or *ṅ* with *ka*. There is also no sign of *e* to be found with *va*. In Śāradā script when *ka* is doubled the first part of the ligature is written as a cross-bar. Thus the reading of king's name as Vakkadeva given by Rodgers[150] and V. A. Smith[151] may well be accepted.

There are noticed three pellets in front of the lion as mint mark and a quadrangular symbol on the rump of lion.

The weights of the coins show that they belong to the *Kārshāpaṇa* and *Ardha-kārshāpaṇa* denominations.

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[142] *op. cit.*, Pl. VII, No. 3.

[143] *op. cit.*, pp. 203 f. The coin of Pakama published by E. C. Bayley (*op. cit.*, p. 130) is rightly attributed to Vakkadeva by MacDowall (*op, cit.*, p. 204) reading the legend as *Śrī Vaka De*.

[144] Information taken from E. Thomas (*Prinsep's Essays*, on Indian Antiquities Vol. I, p. 42).

[145] *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, pp. 179 and 186. There was also a suggestion to read the name as *Pakkadeva*.

[146] *Catalogue of the Coins collected by Chas. J. Rodgers and Purchased by the Government of Punjab*, Calcutta, 1894, Pt. II, p. 15.

[147] *Prinsep's Essays*, on Indian Antiquities Vol. I, p. 43.

[148] *op. cit.*, p. 130, f. n. 1.

[149] *CMI*, pp. 62 f,

[150] *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1895, Pt. III p. 87.

[151] *op. cit.* pp. 243 and 248.

MINT-MARKS AND OTHER SYMBOLS

PLATE IX

General Symbols

PLATE IX, 1-11

The obverse of the bull and horseman type coins shows a regular depiction of a trident on the rump of bull and a star and inverted Brāhmī *ma* below the neck.

The reverse of the elephant and lion type coins shows invariably a quadrangle on the rump of lion.

Mint-Marks on the Coins of Bhīmadeva

PLATE IX, 12-20

The coins of Bhīmadeva of the bull and horseman type show mint marks on the reverse such as the letters *ma* and *bhī* on the left and semicircle and cross and conchshell on the right. The elephant and lion type coins show a rosette made of five dots above the lion.

The gold coin of Bhīmadeva shows the symbol *go* below the throne and a trident and quadrangle and some other indistinct symbols in between the king and attendant on the obverse.

Mint-Marks on the Coins of Khvadavayaka

PLATE IX, 21-26

The coins of Khvadavayaka show the mint marks on the left, these being the letter *bha* with the legend *adl* in Persian script or the letter *pa* on the right. The marks on the left are also noticed to be *a* and *ka*.

Mint-Marks on the Coins of Sāmantadeva

PLATE IX, 27-50

The coins of Sāmantadeva invariably show the letter *bhī* on the left except in a few cases where *bhū*, *sa*, *nta*, *ya* and *mo* are noticed. With the letter *bhī* the marks on the right are in great variety, unlike the coins of Spalapatideva where a constant symbol is found. The marks on the right are a circle, a semicircle and cross, a symbol like the English numeral 4 and its other form having the cross on left and upper stroke on right ; a semicircle with elongated right having a headline, the left end is also noticed with its right upward elongation ; a symbol like the Roman letter I ; the letter *bha* closed with a right upward line and headline ; the letters *ta* or *nta* and its ornamentation forms a symbol like conchshell.

The reverse of the elephant and lion type shows a rosette made of four or five dots. Some specimens also show a dot inside the bend of the lion's tail and a symbol resembling the Roman letter Z, with the upper line elongated and curved, below the lion's neck.

The rump of the lion shows a simple quadrangle in general but also with a dot inside it on some pieces.

Mint-Marks on the Coins of Spalapatideva

PLATE IX, 51-77

The reverse of the coins of Spalapatideva shows one mint-mark on the left on those coins where some corrupt legend is seen on the right. In this case the marks are of three different varieties, the one which may well be described as the letter *ya*, the bow and arrow symbol, and a symbol composed of three lines meeting at one end. Some specimens of the latter two mint marks also show additional marks below the horse. These additional marks comprise a circle, and the letters *ra*, *pi* and *da*. The coins with the corrupt legend appearing like an Arabic numeral show two mint-marks, one on the left and the other on the right. The left marks are the letter *ka* and the symbol which resembles the sign for 200, which is seen in five varieties. The other symbols are the letters *gu*, *kra*, *da* and *gulana*. The marks on the right comprise a symbol in the form of a cross whose left arm is attached to a convex semicircle. Some of the coins with *ka* and *da* mint marks show additional marks below the horse like *ga*' three strokes arranged one over the other, and three dots. An exception shows an additional mark, a circle with a dot in centre over the hind part of the horse on the reverse and also over the neck of the bull on the obverse

Mint-Mars on the Coins of Vakkadeva

PLATE IX, 78-82

The coins of Vakkadeva on the reverse of the elephant and lion type show a rosette made of four dots with a symbol like the Roman Z with elongated oblique line with slight curve below the lion's neck. Some of the specimens also show the letters *ra*, *pa* and *da* below the lion.

Conclusion

The legend resembling Arabic numeral appeared late in the issues of Spalapatideva and at this time it was executed without any further corruption of the forms and appeared on the coins of all those other kings whose clear specimens are found, except Khvadavayaka, who introduces *adl* instead of the usual legend. And in this case the part of the original legend coming above the horse's head was replaced by some symbol.

The symbol chosen on the coins of Spalapatideva was very near to the letter of the original legend at 1'O clock.

This symbol was adopted by Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva.

The symbol was also replaced by other symbols on the coins of Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva.

The conchshell symbol is found on the coins of Sāmantadeva and Bhīmandeva.

The issues of the elephant and lion type copper coins will suggest that the coins of Sāmantadeva are later in date as the rosette found below the lion's neck on the coins of Vakkadev is well replaced in the space above the lion instead of having two symbols side by side below the neck. The clear quadrangle and its ornamentation with a dot inside on the rump of lion would also suggest the same.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Out of the six kings known from the coins three names Sāmantadeva, Kamalavarman and Bhīmadeva are mentioned by Alberūnī[152] and of these the latter two are referred to by Kalhaṇa[153] also. According to the succession known from Alberūnī and Kalhaṇa the coins of Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva will respectively pre-date and post-date the coin of Kamalavarman.

The mint marks and the varieties of the coins of Spalapatideva and Sāmantadeva suggest a later date for the latter king. At the same time Vakkadeva seems to be earlier than Sāmantadeva. The coins of Samantadeva with *visarga* must be put very near to Khvadavayaka. The rest of the coins of Sāmantadeva may post-date Vakkadeva and Khvadavayaka. Kamalavarman, identified with the father of Bhīmadeva, may be put in between Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva.

PROVENANCE

The provenance of the coins of the Shāhi kings is rarely recorded. The finds, according to H.H. Wilson, 'are in considerable numbers in the West and North-West of Hindustan, extending to the Punjab and Afghanistan, and occasionally in the Eastern provinces of Persia; although not upon the Lower courses of Indus, in Sindh or in Guzerat.'[154] V.A. Smith noted that these coins were extremely common in Afghanistan, the Punjab and throughout Northern India[155] and A. Cunningham found them 'pretty common' in the Yusufzal area.[156]

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[152] *Kitab ul-Hind*, trans. by E. C. Sachau, *AI*, Vol. II, p. 13.

[153] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, V. 232-33 ; for Kamaluka, VI. 176-78 ; for Bhīmadeva, VII. 1081.

[154] *op. cit.*, p. 428.

[155] *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[156] *ASI,R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, Varanasi, 1966 reprint, p. 7.

The coins of Sāmantadeva are noted by E. Thomas as common in and around Kabul and more plentiful in the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces of India.[157] The coins of Sāmantadeva are also picked from Shahpur,[158] Rawalpindi and Gujarat,[159] and Duki in Baluchistan.[160] Some specimens are noticed from Gujaranwala.[161] The coins are also found at Taxila,[162] Bareilly, Aligarh and Budaun.[163]

The coins of Sāmantadeva are found from more than half a dozen places in East Europe.[164]

The coins of Spalapatideva, according to E. Thomas,[165] are found in considerable numbers in Afghanistan and less abundantly in the Punjab and North of India. His coins have also been recovered from Shahpur,[166] Rawalpindi, [167] Taxila[168] with the coins of Sāmantadeva.

The coins of Bhīmadeva are found from Kabulistan,[169] and that of Vakkadeva from Kalar[170] and Taxila.[171]

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157. *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, p. 181 ; also A. Cunningham, Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, *ASI,R*, Vol. XIV, pp. 55, 65, 67, 72, 75 reporting the finds from Sultanpur, Sunet, Joner, Sadhora and Kapalamochan ; N. K. Bhattasali, *op, cit.*, pp. 1 f.

158. A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Coin Cabinet Assam*, Allahabad, 1930, pp. 33 f., coin nos. 1 and 4 ; also *Catalogue of the Existing Collection of Coins in the Nagpur Museum*, 1907, p. 2, coin no. 35.

159. *ibid.*, pp., 1 f. coin nos. 14, 18 and 37.

160. L. J. Michael, *List of coins*, McMohan Museum, Quetta, 1912, p. 7, coin no. 3.

161. A. W. Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 34, coin nos. 6 and 7.

162. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Cambridge, 1951, Vol. II, p. 794.

163. *Lucknow Provincial Museum Coin List*, XXI, XXII, XXIII.

164. Cf. *Infra*, p. 209, f. n. 176.

165. *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, p. 181.

166. A. W. Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 33, coin no. 1 ; also *catalogue of the Existing Collection of Coins in the Nagpur Museum*, p. 2, coin no. 35.

167. *ibid.*, p. 1. coin no. 19.

168. J. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 324 ; Vol. II, p. 794.

169. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, Vol. IX, 1848, p. 181.

170. *JRAS*, 1903, p. 335.

171. J. Marshall, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 324 ; Vol. II, p. 794.

SHAHI COINS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Indian dirhams were always welcomed by traders for their silver content. In this conncetion Muhammad'Aūfī may be referred to who records in Jāmi-ul-Hikāyāt[172] that, during the reign of Yāmid-ud-daulā Mahmūd some sharp men of India brought out a dirham of great purity and placed a suitable price upon it. Time passed on and the coin obtained currency. Merchants coming from Islamic countries used to 'purchas' these dirhams carry them to Khurasan. When people had grown accustomed to the value of the coin the Indians began by degrees to debase the standard and the merchants, unaware of the depreciation, under the impression of deriving a profit brought silver and gold to exchange for the debased coins; L. Gopal is quite correct[173] in stating that even though the historicity of this particular affair may be doubted, it does reflect the prevailing practice.

Though it is uncertain which dirhams were used for such practice, a suggestion may be made about the coins of Sāmantadeva, especially those specimens which post-date the king.

An Indian dirham found at Tripoli in Syria is mentioned by Shaikh Ja'afr bin Ali of Damascus in his book *Mahasin. Al-Tijārah* which he wrote in the year 670 A.H.(1280 A.D.) The author says "I was sitting one day in Tripoli in Syria in the market when an auctioneer came with broken silver amongst which there was a sound dirham. Its weight exceeded one' mithcal'; on one side of it there was a picture of bull, on the other an image of a mounted horseman with a very handsome face. On both sides there were inscriptions in a language I do not understand. I bought the silver and the dirham remained in my hands. One of the learned men of Damascus, Persian in origin, saw it with me. He told me that he knows the origin of this dirham. It is, as he said, struck in India, and is being used extensively in Ghazna. He recited some verse in Persian on this dirham.

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[172] H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 188.

[173] *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 218.

He told me further that the translation of the inscriptions on one side is :—

"Anyone who keeps this dirham and does not spend it except in a reasonable way, on religious commands, is like the horseman who is master of the animal and himself.' [174]

The dirham mentioned by Shaikh Ja'afar bin Ali is taken as a coin of some Shāhi king of Kabul by Naji Al Asil.[175] Perhaps he arrived at this conclusion from the information that the coin was of bull and horseman type struck in India, and was in use at Ghazna. But on these very evidences nothing can be said with certainty. Moreover the legend on the coin seems to have been in Persian and thus can in no way have been related with the Shāhis.

The archaeological finds of the coins of Sāmantadeva in Europe[176] clearly prove the use of those coins in the trading communities with whom the coins found the way to Europe.[177]

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[174] Cf. *JNSI*, VIII. pt. II, 1946, p. 153.

[175] *ibid.*, p. 152.

[176] *JRAS*, Vol. IX. 1848, p. 178, from Obrzyck in the province of Posen (Poland) ; *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, pt. II, 1965, pp. 147 ff. Lisowek located near Frankfurt (Poland), Angmermunde district of the estate Niederlandin, from Periaslave—Zaleski in the Vladimir province, Yuriew in the Yaroslavl province, Ginezdoro in the Smolensk province, Tataroki Tolkish in the Chistopol district of the former Kazan province (now in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialiat Republic), Demissy in the former Periaslawe district of the Poltava province (now the Perisaslav—Khmelmitski district of the Kiev province), Vaabina in the Viiru district of the Estonian SSR, Erra-Liiva now a part of the town Kohtla.Yarve, Estonian SSR. Cf. also J. Friedlander, *Der Fund von Obrzycko*, Berlin, 1844.

[177] *ibid.*, pp. 149 f. Also P. L. Gupta, 28th International Congress of Orientalists, *Abstract of Papers*, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

A find of bull and horseman type coin in Egypt was fancifully noticed in 1835 by Smiley.[178]

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[178] 'This is an extremely curious medal of silver, struck in Egyyt before the reigns of the Ptolemies. It represents on one side a man on horseback, and on the other an ox of the humped kind, lying down; between his horns is the lunar crescent, and within that is a globe. These symbols clearly refer to this ox to Egypt. The man on horseback is most singular part of this medal; none of the countries adjacent having adopted the type of the horseman. There is every reason to believe that the letters on this medal are Persian and that the person represented is Aryandes, governor of Egypt under Darius, the last king of Persia, who when possessed this country, and who caused the governor to be put to death for coining money in his own name' (*Scripture Geography*, Philadelphia, 1835, p. 151 quoted in Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 302).

Appendix A

METAL ANALYSIS

One silver Shāhi coin[179] was assayed by J. Scully in 1889 with the result that the specimen contained 89.46 per cent of silver and the other metals entering into the composition were copper and very small amount of gold.[180]

The specific gravities of the coins of Spalapatideva, Sāmantadeva, Khvadavayaka and Bhīmadeva were attempted by K. Howes[181] to determine the percentage of silver, but according to him, due to the 'varying proportions of both lead and gold in addition to silver and copper; and the estimation of the composition of an alloy from its specific gravity is only possible with any precision if it is composed of two metals and no more',[182] and thus 'the results do not reveal a clear pattern'.[183]

The spectographic analysis of the coins of Spalapatideva, Sāmantadeva and Khvadavayaka attempted by F. C. Thompson and Miss P. McQuilkin[184] shows that the 'coins fall into two distinct groups, one of silver with 70 per cent silver and gold, the other of billon with about 25 per cent silver and there is no evidence whatever of any progressive debasement which would bridge this gap'.[185] In the opinion of these scientists 'the composition of gold and silver was intended.'[186]

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[179] V. A. Smith has taken this coin to belong to Spalapatideva (*op. cit.*, p. 243). however, neither J. Scully, the assayer of the coin, nor A.F.R. Hoernle who sent the coin to be assayed has given this sort of specification (*PASB*, August 1889, p. 198).

[180] *loc, cit.*

[181] *NC*, seventh series, Vol. VIII, 1968, p. 223 f.

[182] *ibid.*, p. 224.

[183] *loc. cit.*

[184] *ibid.*, pp. 222 f.

[185] *ibid.*, p. 223.

[186] *loc. cit.*

Only six coins, out of the sixteen silver pieces, deviated from the normal composition ; of these one belongs to Spalapatideva, four to Sāmantadeva and the last one to Khvadavayaka.

The billon coins of Sāmantadeva show two groups having lower and higher content of copper. The former group shows a higher content of gold and lead.

The evidence of the intended composition of gold and silver in coins suggests a higher standard of technical attainments in this reign.[187] At the same time the two groups of the billon coins raise queries. There might have been some political reasons affecting the royal treasury. Perhaps in the times of Jayapāla and his successors these debased coins were issued due to the political pressure of the Ghaznavids who were keeping them at war continuously and had looted not only the royal treasures but also the personal possessions and the treasures of temples hoarded since ancient times.[188] The fake dirhams of lower silver contents referred to by Muhammad 'Aufī[189] may have been related to some of these coins.

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[187] *ibid.*, p. 223.

[188] Cf. also D. B. Pandey, Patna Seminar *op. cit.* For the prosperous economic condition of the Shahis as revealed from the tributes paid to and loots by the Muslims, Cf. *Infra*, pp. 324 ff.

[189] H. M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 188.

Appendix B

COINS OF AŚATAPĀLA

The bull and horseman type coins bearing the name of the king as Aśaṭapāla[190] in Nāgarī characters are found commonly between Meerut and Bareilly, Rohilkhand and Badaun.[191] V.A. Smith once considered these coins to be the latest in the series of the Shāhi coins, following A. Cunningham, attributing the pieces to a chief of Chamba named Āsaṭa[192] R. Burn and J. Ph. Vogel read the name of the issuer of the coins as Amṛita and attributed the coins to the Amṛitpāla of the inscription found from Badaun.[193] This suggestion was also recognised by V.A. Smith.[194]

Some scholars[195] attempt to identify the issuer of these coins as the king Ishtpāla referred to by Firishta.[196] However, the reason for this proposal seems to be that these scholars either misread the legend or have not been able to consult the writings of R. Burn and J. Ph. Vogel, and V.A. Smith.

It is more plausible to agree with the reading given by Burn and Vogel followed by Smith and also H. de Shortt[197] and L. Gopal.[198]

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[190] V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 249 ; contrary to his reading A. Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p, 65, no. 19) and J. Allan (H. C. Ray, *DHNi*, p. 102) reald the name as Ashatapala. A. S. Altekar favours Smith (*JNSI*, Vog. XVI, pt. I, 1954, p. 110, f. n. 4) and H. C. Ray accepts the readin given by Cunningham and Allan (*DHNI*, pp. 102, no. 7).

[191] Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 268, V. A. Smith (*op. cit.*, p, 244) and Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 60) noted these coins as rare findings.

[192] *op. cit.*, p. 244 f.

[193] J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 268. For the inscription of Amṛitapāla, Cf. *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93 pp. 61 ff.

[194] *IA*, Vol. XLII, 1913, p. 308.

[195] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 60 S. C. Ray, *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, 1944, pp. 109 ff.

[196] H. M. Elliot, *op. cit*,, Vol. II, p. 425.

[197] *op, cit.*, p. 316.

[198] *Early Mediaeval Coin-types of Northern India*, p, 32.

ON THE NUMISMATIC TERMS OF THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW

We have two groups of sources which inform us about the coins and measures of the Shāhi times. The first group comprises the works of the Arab writers and the second one comprises an Indian treatise on mathematics.

The Arab writers refer to two terms—dirham and dīnāra. The term dirham is noticed in cases of payments of money to the Arabs by the Shāhis.[199] Though there are certain references where an Indian coin is called by the name dirham[200] but it is hardly probable that the Shāhi coins were given this name.[201] The plausibility seems to be that the Arabs called the Indian money by a name dirham which was more commonly used by them. Early Muslim rulers used dirhams. However, scholars are not decisive on the point that whether this name was given to some kind of Indian coins or the coins issued by the Muslims.[202] Though the gold dirhams are also referred to in Muslim accounts but in relation to the Shāhis, dirham would have been of silver. According to Firishta the silver dirham valued at about 5 pence[203] and Ibn Battūtā takes it equivalent to *hashtkan*, a coin which was equal to a two anna piece.[204] According to Alberūnī dirham in India was equal to one third of a Suvarṇa[205] (i.e. 4/9 tolās or 26.66 Rattīs in weight).

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[199] Cf. Balādhurī, *Kitab Futūh al-Buldān*, trans. by F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of Islamic State*, Pt. II, New York, 1924, pp. 139 ff.

[200] Cf. *Supra*, p. 208.

[201] D. C. Sircar identifies the dirham mentioned by 'Aūfī with the silver issues of bull and horseman type in the name of Sāmantadeva weighing 32 Rattīs (*JAIH*, Vol. I, pts. 1-2, 1967-68, pp. 84 f.).

[202] For a detailed treatment about the tern, Cf. P. Niyogi, *Contribution to the Economic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1962, pp. 272 ff.

[203] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, trans. by J. Briggs, *Rise of Mohammedan Power in India*, London, 1929, Vol. I, p. 41.

[204] M. Hussain. *The Relha of Ibn Baṭṭūṭā*, p. xlix.

The term dīnāra comes while assessing the value of a necklace of Jayapāla (about two lakhs dīnāras (in the *Tārīkhi-Yāminī* of 'Utbī.[206] This dīnāra must be taken as the gold coin. The relative value of a dīnāra is given in the table below. The Indian treatise on mathematics mentions the following coins, weights and measures :[207]

Coins weights and measures	Abbreviations used in manuscript	Probable names	Associations known from the manuscript.	Associations known from other early mediaeval works
Coins				
	Sa	Satera (Stater)		1 Stater =2 Dīnāras
Dīnāra Dīnāraka	Dī		1 Dīnara =12 Dhānas or Dhānakas =2 Draṅkshaṇas 1½ Dīnāras =1 Suvarṇa	
	Su	Suvarṇa	1 Suvarṇa =80 Rakti (kās) 8 Su (varṇas) =1 Ku (?) =128 Ma (?)[208]	
Pala				1 Pala =4 Suvarṇas
	Dra	Draṅkshaṇa		1 Draṅkshaṇa =6 Māshakas

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[205] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[206] H.M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ed. by J. Dowson, Allahabad reprint, Vol. II, p. 26.

[207] The numismatic terms, weights and measures are studied by G.R. Kaye (*The Bakhshālī Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1927) and R.C. Agrawala (*JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pt. 12, 1954, pp. 231 ff.) after whom the present chart is prepared. However, the last column of the chart contains some new data also.

[208] Ku and Ma abbreviations are not explainable.

Śāṇa				1 Sāṇa =3 or 4 Māshakas
	Dhāna	Dhānaka	1 Dhānaka =4 Aṇḍikās =5 Raktikās	
Māsaka Māshaka				1 Māshaka =4 Raktikās
Drama Dramma				1 Dramma =16 Paṇas
Paṇa				1 Paṇa =4 Kākiṇīs
Kākiṇī				1 Kākiṇī =20 Cowries
Weights				
Bhāra			1 Bhāra =200 Palas	
Pala			1 Pala =8 Tolas	
Tola			1 Tola =Draṅkshaṇas	
Draṅkshaṇa			1 Draṅkshaṇa =½Tola	
	Va	Valla	1 Va (11a) =9 Gu (ñjas)	
	Gu	Guñja		Guñjā =Raktikā
Raktikā			1 Raktikā =3¼ Yava	
Yava			1 Yava =2½ Siddhārtha	
Siddhārtha			1 Siddhārtha =3¼ Kalā	
Kalā			1 Kalā =4 Pāda	
Pāda			1 Pāda =4 Mudrikās	
Mudrikā			1 Mudrikā ¼Pāda	Mudrikā =Mudri

Capacity		
Prashtha	Pra	
Kuḍava	Ku	
Time		
Muhūrta		1 Muhūrta =2 Ghaṭikās
Ghaṭikā		1 Ghaṭikā =½Muhūrta
Distance		
Yojana		1 Yojana =16000 Hasta
Hasta		1 Hasta =24 Aṅgulas
Aṅgula		1 Aṅgula =6 Yavas
Yava		1 Yava =1/6 Aṅgula

Appendix D

COIN TYPES

Nos.	*Obverse*	*Reverse*	*Reference*
		BHĪMADEVA	
		GOLD	
1.	Within dotted circle king seated cross-legged on throne, r. hand holding out towards an attendant (female?) standing to r., l. hand akimbo resting on thigh; trident, quadrangle and other indistinct symbols in between the king and attendant, *go* below the throne; legend *Shāhi-Śrī-Bhīmadeva*, above.	Within dotted circle king with peaked beard seated in kingly pose on a *chatushkī* with r. hand raised with palm open inwards and l. hand akimbo resting on thigh; to r. of king, Lakshmī seated cross-legged on lotus, holds uncertain object in r. hand, lotus with stalk in l.; legend *Śrīmada-(gata)-Sāmantadeva*, above.	A. Ghose, *op. cit.* Illustration on p. 133 Plate VI, 1
		SILVER	
1.	Within dotted circle recumbent humped bull l. with trident on rump, star and inverted Brāhmī *ma* below neck; legend *Śrī Bhīmadeva*, above	Within dotted circle king on horseback r., holds lance in r. hand, corrupt legend appearing like Arabic numeral on r.	D.W. MacDowall *op. cit.*. pl. XVIII, 28 Plate VI, 2
		COPPER	
1.	Elephant standing l. Legend *Śrī Bhīmadeva*, above.	Lion r. with tail curved over back.	*ibid.*, pl. XIX, 44 Plate VI, 3

KAMALAVARMAN

COPPER

1. Within dotted circle lion l. with tail curved over back; legend *Śrī Kama(la)*	Within dotted circle peacock l. with outspread wings.	*CMI*, pl. VII, 1 Plate, VI, 4
2. As on no. 1 ; legend *Śrī Kamaladeva* (?)	Haṁsa (?)	*DHNI*, p. 102, no. 1 Not illustrated

KHVADAVAYAKA

SILVER

1. Within dotted circle recumbent humped bull l. with trident on rump, star and inverted Brāhmī *ma* below neck; legend *Śrī Khvadavayakaḥ*, above.	Within dotted circle king on horseback r., holds lance in r. hand two dots in place of the Arabic numeral	D.W. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 20 Plate VI, 5
2. As on no. 1.	As on no. 1. *Adl* in Persian script on r. above.	*ibid.*, pl. XVIII, 21 Plate VI, 6

SĀMANTADEVA

SILVER

1. Within dotted circle recumbent bull r. with trident on rump, star and inverted Brāhmī *ma* below neck; legend *Srī Sāmantadeva*, above.	Within dotted circle king on horseback r.; corrupt legend appearing like Arabic numeral on r.	*ibid.*, pl. XVIII, 31 Plate VII, 1
2. As on no. 1 Legend *Srī Sāmantadeva.*	As on no. 1.	*ibid.*, pl. XVII, 19 Plate VII, 2

BILLON

1.	As on Silver no. 1. Legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva.*	As on Silver no. 1.	*ibid.*, pl. XVIII, 32 Plate VII,3
2.	As on no. 1.	As on no. 1. but Elephant rider.	A.K. Shrivastava, *op. cit.* Lucknow Seminar.

COPPER

1.	As on Silver no. 1. Legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva.*	As on Silver no. 1.	*CMI*, pl. VII, 14 Plate VII,4
2.	Within dotted circle elephant standing l.; legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva.*	Within dotted circle lion r. with tail curved over back.	D.W. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, 42 Plate VII,5
3.	Caprisoned elephant striding to proper r.; legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva*, above.	Blank. Two depressions which look like letters *rau.*	N.K. Bhattasali, *op. cii.*, p. 2. Not illustrated.

SPALAPATIDEVA

SILVER

1.	Within dotted circle recumbent humped bull l., with trident on rump, star and inverted Brāhmī *ma* below neck; legend *Śrī Spalapatideva*, above	Within dotted circle king on horseback r., holds lance in r. hand; corrupt legend on r.	

Varieties

i.	As on no. 1.	As on no. 1. Corrupt legend in Tokharian.	D.W. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII, 1 Plate VIII,1

ii. As on no. 1	As on no. 1 Banner shown by 4 or streams, corrupt legend.	*ibid.*, pl. XVII, 2 Plate VIII, 2
iii. As on no. 1	As on no. 1 Legend in more corrupt forms.	*ibid.*, pl. XVII, 3 Plate VIII, 3
iv. As on no. 1	As on no. 1 Legend corrupt but in bold letters.	*ibid.*, pl. XVII, 4 Plate VIII, 4
v. As on no. 1	As on no. 1 Legend corrupt, appearing like Arabic numeral.	*ibid.*, pl. XVII, 14 Plate VIII, 5
vi. As on no. 1 A circle with dot in centre on the head of the bull.	As on no. 1 A circle with dot in centre below the thigh of the horse.	V.A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, 2 Plate VIII, 6

COPPER

1. As on Silver no. 1.	As on Silver no. 1 Legend corrupt, appearing like Arabic numeral.	D.W. MacDowall, *op., cit.*, pl. XIX 34 Plate VIII, 7

VAKKADEVA

COPPER

1. Within dotted circle recumbent humped bull l.; legend *Śrī Va(kkadeva)*, above.	Within dotted circle king on horseback r.	*CMI*, pl. VII. 4 Plate VI, 7
2. Within dotted circle elephant l.; legend *Śrī Vakkadeva*, above.	Within dotted circle lion r. with tail curved over back.	D.W. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, pl XIX, 36 Plate VI, 8

EXPLANATION TO THE CHART OF THE MINT MARKS ON THE SHĀHI COINS

The marks figured in the chart have been numbered serially with the mention, on the top of a group of marks, of the names of the kings, to whose issues they belong. The marks found invariably on all the coins of the referred type are put in a group of general marks. Marks given in Roman characters are not found in their original form, so that they are figured in the same way as mentioned by the scholars who noticed them.

This explanation to the chart comprises two columns—the first one giving the numbers or numbers of the marks figured in the chart and second one providing the reference from where the marks are collected. The sources are abbreviated as follows :

Bayley (*NC*, third series, Vol. II, 1882); Bidyabinod (*Supplementary Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. 1); Botham (*Cotalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet Assam Museum)*; Cunningham (*CMI*); Ghose (*NC*, sixth series, Vol. XII, 1952); MacDowall (*NC*, seventh Series, Vol. VIII, 1968); Prinsep (*Prinsep's Essays, on Indian antiquities* ed. by E. Thomas); Rodgers (1) (*Catalogue of the coins collected by Chas, J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Punjab*) ; Rodgers (2) *Catalogue of the coins of the Indian Museum*, Pt. III) Thomas (*JRAS*, Vol. IX. 1848); Shortt (*NC*, Sixth series, Vol, XVI, 1956); Smith (*Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I).

EXPLANATION TO THE CHART

Nos.	References

GENERAL MARKS

Nos.	References
1	Generally on the rump of bull.
2	Generally on the rump of bull ruder than the previous mark.
3	Shortt, p. 319, nos. 53-65, 70-74
4	Shortt, p. 319, no. 66
5	Shortt, p. 319, nos. 67-69
6	Cunningham, Pl. VII, no. 14
7	Generally found below the neck of Bull.
8	Generally on the rump of horse.
9	Smith, Pl. XXVI, no. 4. Generally on the rump of lion.
10	MacDowall' Pl. XIX, nos. 36-43
11	MacDowall, Pl. XIX, no. 45

ON THE COINS OF BHĪMADEVA

Nos.	References
12 with 13	Prinsep, Pl. XXV, no. 6 MacDowall, Pl. XXIII, no. 29 MacDowall, Pl. facing p. 177, no. 8
14 with 15	Thomas, Pl. facing p. 177, no. 8. Bayley, Pl. VI, no. 20. MacDowall, Pl. XVIII, no. 28 Prinsep, Pl. XXV, no. 7
16 with 20	Ghose, p. 133

MARKS ON THE COINS OF KH^{V}ADAVAYAKA

Nos.	References
21	Smith, Pl. XXVI. no. 5.
21 with 22	Cunningham. Pl. VII, no. 15 Thomas, Pl. facing p. 177, no. 5. MacDowall, pl. XXIII, no. 20.
23 with 24	Bayley, Pl. XVI, no. 17 MacDowall, Pl. XVIII, no. 21
25	Cunningham, p. 64, nos. 15-16
26	Cunningham, pl. 64, nos. 15-16

MARKS ON THE COINS OF SĀMANTADEVA

Nos.	References
27	Bidyabinod, p. 60 f., nos. 1, 3, 6
27 with 28	Princep, Pl. XXV, nos. 3, 5 MacDowall, Pl. XVIII, no. 27
27 with 29	Cunningham, Pl. VII, no. 11 Smith, Pl. XXVI, no. 3 MacDowall, Pl. XVIII, nos. 31, 32
27 with 30	MacDowall, Pl. XVIII, no. 30
27 with 31	Rodgers (2), p. 82, no. 7815

27 with 32	Rodgers (2), p. 82, no. 7814
27 with 33	Rodgers (2), p. 82, no. 7817
27 with 34 and 35	Shortt, p. 319, nos. 53-65
27 with 35	Cunningham, Pl. VII, no. 10 Prinsep, Pl. XXV, no. 4 Thomas, Pl. facing p. 177, no. 3 MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 19; Pl. XVIII, nos. 22, 24, 25
27 with 36	Rodgers (1), pl. 18, no. 29
27 with 37	Rodgers (2), p. 82, no. 7818
27 with 38	Rodgers (2), p. 82, no. 8190
27 with 39	Rodgers (1), p. 16, no. 23
40	Rodgers (1), p. 19, no. 34
41 with 42	Bidyabinod, p. 62, no. 27
43	Bidyabinod, p. 62, no. 28
44	Bidyabinod. p. 62, no. 31
45	Bidyabinod, p. 62, no. 32
46	Smith, p. 243, Sāmantadeva, no. 5
47	Rodgers (1), p. 19, no. 37
47 with 49	Cunningham, Pl. VII, no. 12 MacDowall, Pl, XIX, nos. 42, 43
48 with 49	MacDowall, Pl. XIX. no. 41
49	Thomas, Pl. facing p. 177, no. 4 MacDowall, Pl. XIX, no. 45
47 with 49 and 50	MacDowall, Pl. XIX, nos. 41, 42

MARKS ON THE COINS OF SPALAPATIDEVA

51	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 4
51 with 52	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 5
53	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 6
53 with 54	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, nos 7, 8
53 with 55	MacDowall, Pl. VXII no. 10
53 with 56	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 9
57	Cunningham, Pl. VII, nos. 6, 7 Smith, Pl. XXVI, no. 1 MacDowall. Pl. XVII, no. 3
58	Smith, p. 246, Spalapatideva, no. 2
59	Bidyabinod, p. 60, no. 2 Rodgers (1), p. 15, no. 5 Smith, p. 247, Spalapatideva, no. 6
60 with 61	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 14 Cunningham, Pl. VII, no. 9 Thomas, Pl. facing p. 177, no. 2
62 with 63	Rodgers (2), p. 85, no, 7805
64	Rodgers (2), p. 85, no. 7806

65	Rodgers (1), p. 15, no. 10
	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 12
65 with 66	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 13
65 with 67	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 12
68 with 69	Rodgers (2), p. 86, no. 7806
70	Bidyabinod, p. 60, no. 3
	Rodgers (2), p. 86, no. 7812
70 with 71	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 15
72	MacDowall, Pl. XII, no. 16
73	Rodgers (1), pp. 15 f., nos. 9, 15
74	Rodgers (1), p. 16, nos, 14, 16
75	Bidyabinod, p. 60, no. 1
	Botham, p. 33, no. 1
76	MacDowall, Pl. XVII, no. 17
77	Smith, Pl. XXVI, no. 2

MARKSON THE COINS OF VAKKADEV

78	Smith, Pl. XXVI, no. 4
	Thomas, Pl. facing p. 177, no. 1 (wrongly notices only three dots)
	Cunningham, Pl. VII, no. 3
	MacDowall, Pl. XIX, no. 36
78 with 79	MacDowall, Pl. XIX, no. 37
78 with 80	MacDowall, Pl. XIX, no. 38
78 with 81	MacDowall, Pl. XIX, no. 39
78 with 82	MacDowall, Pl. XIX, no. 40
82	Bayley, Pl. VI. no. 2.

CHAPTER VII

CULTURAL GLEANINGS

We have insufficient data for the reconstruction of the cultural history of the period of the Shāhis of Afghanistan and Punjab. The following is an attempt, in no way comprehensive, to know about some of the cultural traits of the period under review.

MATERIAL REMAINS

It is distressing that no excavation have been planned for the Shāhi sites. We have little materials to ascribe to the Turki and Hindu Shāhis. Whatever nominal material we possess belonging to our period under study is the outcome of explorations. We are to wait till the Hund is excavated, to know about the royal buildings of the Hindu Shāhis. Their court has only once been referred to by Kalhaṇa,[1] in its ruined and forgotten state. The whole of the Shāhi land was ravaged by the force of Mahmūd. The cultural institutions were broken and the buildings were dissolved. Thus it is quite admitable that there is always a probability of less material findings. The ancient remains at Hund[2] and Kafirkot[3] are well acquainted with but unfortunately, though they give us a good picture of fortification and general building types, they reveal little of architectural ornamentation.

Hiuen Tsang refers to many of the stupas, Buddhist monasteries and Deva temples but neither he refers to any of them which have been constructed in the period of the ruler of Kapiśa whom he mentions nor he describes in such a detail that any inference may be taken to know the style and date.

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[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. M. A. Stein Bombay 1892, VII, 69.

[2] *ASI*, *AR*, 1923-24, pp. 68 ff.

[3] *ASI*, *AR*, 1914-15, also 1921-22, p. 10.

The unknown writer of the *Ḥudūd, al-Ālam* refers to the idol temples of the cities of the Shāhi country but nothing more is to be inferred about the monuments referred to in the work cited. The chroniclers of Sabuktigin and Mahmūd's expeditions make mention of many Hindu temples to have been devastated and converted into mosques. This all shows that the Shāhi land possessed a number of temples. We have some specific references to the temple at Sakāvanta, the Shāhi temple constructed by Bhīmadeva in Kashmir and the temples of Bhīma Nagara and Hund.

Temple of Sakāvanta

'Aūfī records that Sakāvanta[4] was large Hindu place of worship and people used to come on pilgrimage from the most remote parts of India to the idols of that place. The idols of this temple were broken into pieces by Fardghān, the governor of Zabulistan at the time of Amr ibn Laith (*circa* 879-900 A.D.)[5] J. Marquart considers it as the temple of Sukhvatī, i.e. Lakshmī.[6] We may follow the suggestion referred to with a slight change in the name of the goddess as Sukhavantī after which the place was called Sukāwand or Sakāwand.

Temple at Bhima Nagara

This temple was sacked by Mahmūd in 1008 A.D.[7] The wealth accumulated in this temple was immense. No deity to whom the temple was dedicated is referred to by the Muslim chroniclers. 'Utbī refers to a silver house and a canopy found in the temple: 'Among other things was a house made of silver built like house of the rich. It was 30 yards long and 15 yards wide. It had collapsible sheets which could be rolled up, opened, supported and closed again. There was a canopy of Greek silk, 40 yards long and 20 wide. It has two supporters of gold and two of silver.[8]

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[4] For its geographical position, Cf. *Supra*, pp. 31. f.

[5] *Jāmi-ul-Hikāyāt*, trans. by H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Allahabad reprint, Vol. II, p. 172.

[6] *Erānshahr*, p. 296 as quoted by V. Minorsky. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, London, 1937, p. 347, no. 21.

[7] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 40 and 110 f.

The temple seems to have some association with the Shāhi king Bhīmadeva, who perhaps embellished it and constructed a fort for which reason it was named after him and the temple is recorded to have accumulated its wealth since the times of Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava.[9]

Bhimakeśava temple

Kalhaṇa attributes the authorship of a Vaishṇava temple to Bhīmadeva, the Shāhi king.[10] M.A. Stein recognises the shrine in the ancient temple found at Bumazu, about one mile to the north of the sacred springs of Mārtāṇḍa (Bavan) and on the left bank of the Lidar river, which is now converted into a Muhammadan Ziārat.[11] The name of the author of the shrine still survives in the local traditions as it is supposed to be the resting place of Bābā Bāmadīn Sāhib or the original builder was Bhūma Sādhī.[12]

Kalhaṇa informs about a Purohita corporation of the temple. In the reign of Kalaśadeva (1063-1089 A.D.) due to quarrel among the members of the above mentioned corporation the temple was locked. After settling the quarrel when the shrine was opened the silver armour of god's image was found stolen and it was again locked for fear of theft.[13]

Temple at Hund

The inscription found at Hund[14] refers to a temple of that place, which was dedicated to god Śiva.

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[8] *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, trans. by S. R. Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Sholapar, 1956, pp. 46 f.

[9] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 94ff., 98.

[10] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 177-178 ; VII. 1082.

[11] M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Delhi, 1961, Vol. I,

[12] *loc. cit.*

[13] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 1082-1084.

[14] For inscription, Cf. *Supra*, p. 164.

We do not know about the details of the temples referred to above. However, Kabul is recorded by Balādhurī[15] to possess its own style of architecture.

No exact temple of the Shāhi kingdom is attributed to the Shāhis with certainty. Those which stand under the limits of the Shāhi kingdom and do belong to the period of the Shāhi rule have been treated on stylistic basis either to have been constructed by the kings of Kashmir or Kanauj. Though Kangra was under the possession of the Hindu Shāhis yet no construction of their period is noticed.

Scholars attribute the temple at Malot (PLATE X 1, 2, 3)[16] to Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (*circa* 724-760 A.D.).[17] However, the Salt Range area where it is situated has been since long under the Shāhi control which seems to have imparted its name Shahgarh.[18] The temple has nothing to indicate a well defined date for itself except the style of architecture. A. Cunningham, quite impartially, says that the temple architecture is of Kashmir, without suggesting its relation with any Kashmir king.[19] According to P. Brown, the temple belongs to a provincial offshoot of Kashmir style developed by local workmen.[20] Thus it appears from these authorities that the temple is undoubtedly later than the times of Muktāpīḍa and we may well put the monument to the period of the Hindu Shāhis. The temples at Amb, Kalar, Ketas and Nandan all come under this group. The temples at Kalar

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[15] *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, trans. by F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, Part II, New York, 1924, p. 146.

[16] Reproduced from A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965 reprint, Plate, xci, no. 274; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu), Bombay, 1956, Plate cxxxix, fig. 2; and A. Cunningham, *ASI, R*, 1872-73, Vol. V, Plate xxvi respectively.

[17] *ASI, AR*, 1920-21, p. 4; H. Goetz. *JBU*, Vol. 21, Pt. 2, 1952, pp. 63 ff. A. K. Coomaraswamy puts the temple in the 8th century A. D. (*op. cit.*, p. 143, also Plate xci, no. 274).

[18] *ASI*, *R* 1872-73, Vol. V, p. 87.

[19] *ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.

[20] *op. cit.* p. 195.

(PLATE, XI. 1, 2, 21) and Nandan may well be related with the Shāhi kings as the name of the former is very close to the first Shāhi king Kallar mentioned by Alberūnī and also has produced the coin of the Shāhi ruler Vakkadeva, and the latter place has been a strong fort of the Shāhis.

The cella and the separate portico of the temples are built square in plan with Śikhara and pyramidal roofs over respective parts. The separate portico suggests that the temples were surrounded by an enclosed courtyard in which manner we find the temples of Kashmir.

The temples at Bilot and Kafirkot are the next step of the previous group in their architectural style.[22] According to H. Goetz, the Bilot temple with its mixture of Pratihāra and Kashmiri forms might perhaps fall within the orb of the Shāhi art, and the remains of Kafirkot he groups with that of the Hund.[23] The shrines at Bilot recall some of the features of Malot group and are more ample in their proportion with decidedly more graceful plastic embellishment. The Kafirkot examples are slightly more classical in their appearance and in general character are little more than a variation of those of Bilot.[24]

Plastic Art

As regards the plastic art of the Shāhi times, scholars are now able to attribute some art objects to the Shāhis[25]

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21. Reproduced from W. S. Talbot, *JARS*, 1903, pp. 335 ff., illustration

22. *loc. cit.*, H. Goetz is of opinion that the temples at Amb and Kalar belong to the Pratihāras ('Two Early Hindu Śāhi Sculptures', Reprinted from *Sarūpa Bhāratī*, L. Sarup Memorial Volume, Hoshiarpur, 1954, pp. 1 f.).

23. *ibid.*, pp. 2 and 1.

24. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 195. For the detailed descriptions of the temples referred to Cf. *loc. cit.*; W. S. Talbolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 335 ff.

25. H. Goetz, 'Two Early Hindu Śāhi Sculptures', pp 1 ff.; *OA*, new series, Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer, 1957, pp. 54 ff. G. Tucci, *EW*, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 279 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. 14 Nos. 3-4 September-December, 1963. pp. 146 ff.; M. Taddei, *ibid.*, Vol. 13, No. 4 December 1962, pp. 288 ff. *ibid.*, Vol. 15. Nos. 1-2, January 1964-March 1965, pp. 24 f. D. Schlumberger, *AA*, Tom II

(*Contd.* on *page* 232)

with a clear probability of various artistic activity in the period.[26] Taking into view the religious condition of the period[27] and the temples referred to above it may easily be imagined that to meet the requirements there would have been an ample number of sculptors at work.

The examples proposed to belong to the Shāhi period by Goetz, Barrett, Tucci and Taddei along with the reference to the silver images constructed by the king of Kapiśa in Hiuen Tsang's[28] Account and evidence of coins show that the Shāhi artists expressed their creative talents in the media of wood, stone, terracotta and metal. Both, Goetz and Barrett have aptly been able to recognise the influences from the Rāshṭrakūṭa, Kashmir and the Sino-Byzantine art styles on the examples discussed by them. However, the main art style is that of Kashmir, which spread outside the valley to Taxila and Hansi in the Punjab and to Afghanistan even beyond the Kabul.[29] The reminiscence of the Gandhāra style fused

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(*Contd. from page* 231)

1955, p. 113 ; H. Goetz, *ibid.*, Tom IV, 1957 pp, 13 ff. Certain sculptures, other than those discussed below, found from Gardez, Ghazni and Kabul areas have also been attributed to the Shāhis by some of the scholars *C.f. India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, Madras, 1971, pp. 220 ff.), however, one cannot be very decisive on the point whether these examples represent the art activities of the times of Kabul or Zabul Kings or of the Kings of Udabhāṇḍapura.

[26] '...It is usually assumed that there was little artistic activity during this period. Certainly little has been published' (D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 57),

'...Hindu Shahi art, which has left far better examples, both in stone and bronze ; an art which has been so far little studied, except for the researches of Barrett, Goetz and Fisher, and now of Taddei, on account of the scarcity of its monuments known or accessible : though there are some more specimens of them in many private and public collections, in Pakistan no less than in Afghanistan. It is to be hoped that we may shortly be in a condition to appreciate better this art, which has a great importance in itself, as well as for its further development' (G. Tucci, *EW*, Vol. 14, Nos. 3-4, September-December 1963, pp. pp. 180 f.).

[27] Cf. *Infara* pp. 244 ff.

[28] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[29] H. Goetz, *India*, Five thousand years of Indian Art, Bombay, 1956, p. 153.

with the Indian trends is well born out of the examples. Goetz has taken the Shāhi examples from Afghanistan nothing but import or local imitation of the Hindu art.[30] G. Tucci regards the Shāhi art to have a great importance as the inspirer of Central Asian art or at least its more important component. According to him it was not the Gupta art but the North-Western version of it which grew up following some how different lines and presenting some modulations of its own which were destined to travel a long way throughout Central Asia.[31] It was the art of a border region where foreign ways of living and thinking, a broader outlook were forced by historical events since long, and thus the foreign imprints on all aspects of life including art is well understandable.

The two wooden reliefs (PLATE XI, 1, 2)[32] found from Swats cave in Yusufzai territory near the Khyber Pass are carved in deodar wood and show the Śaivite panels which are common in Deccan. Out of these, according to H. Goetz, one may represent the evening dance of Śiva in the Himalaya accompanied by a chorus of gods and the other may refer to the Devadāruvana or Tārakavana legend which tells how Śiva, in the disguise of a mendicant, seduced the wives of the ṛishis and was thereupon cursed by them to lose his liṅga. R.C. Agrawal[34] proposes to identify these panels as depicting the dancing Bhṛiṅgī, a Śaiva devotee, and a portion of story relating to the descent of Gaṅgā respectively.

The other worth noticing two Śaiva sculptures are in marble (PLATE XIII, 1 2).[35] These Śiva-Pārvatī sculptures

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30. *AA*, Tom IV, 1957, pp. 13, 19.
31. *EW*, Vol. 14, Nos. 3-4, September-December 1963. pp. 181 f.
32. Reproduced from H. Goetz, 'Two Early Hindu Śāhi Sculptures,' illustration.
33. *ibid*., p. 2
34. *EW*, Vol. XVII, nos. 1-2, March-June 1967, pp. 86 f.; also *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, Madras, 1971, p. 222.
35. Reproduced from D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, illustrations.

represent Śiva as Urdha-reta and three headed. In first example the deity is four armed holding rosary and trident in the upper and lower right hands respectively, and club in the lower left hand and the object in the upper left hand is not distinct which may be suggested to be Kamaṇḍalu as we see it in a panel depicted on a recently cast bronze Śiva liṅga (PLATE XIV, 3)[36] having its original in stone attributable to the Shāhi period.[37] In the second marble example the deity is six-armed holding Kapāla, trident and lotus in the right hands and chakra, rosary and club in the left hands. In the former sculpture Nandī is depicted behind the god Śiva and the two armed Pārvatī, holding lotus and mirror, is carved on the left. The panel on the bronze example dittos the marble panel with an addition of an attendant with Pārvatī. In the second marble piece, which is more delicately modelled, Pārvatī is shown wearing Helenistic ghāgharā and scarf. This Hellenistic drapery is also noticeable in the bronze panel. A Pārvatī figure collected from Yusufzai district also shows a mirror in her hand (PLATE XV, 1).[38] Not only the execution but also the iconographic attributes like chakra of Śiva and mirror of Pārvatī show the Kushāṇa impulse still in vogue in the Shāhi period.

The Kārttikeya figure (PLATE XV, 2)[39] from Attock has its own importance for its delicated style of modelling like the former Śiva-Pārvatī. However, a warring nation of the Shāhis should have been in the worship of this war god. With the depiction of a worshiper and a peacock on the either side, the deity is four armed holding spear, rosary in right hands and cock and an indistinct object in the left ones.

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36. Reproduced from M. Taddei, *op. cit.*, illustrations.
37. This liṅga shaped portable sanctury is important for its own representation in the form of a half liṅga showing human face of Śiva on the convex surface and Shiva-Pārvatī on the inner flat surface (Plate XIV). A marble Ekamukha Śiva liṅga of the Shāhi times is also noticed by M. Taddei from Peshawar (Plate XIV).
38. Reproduced from D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, illustrations.
39. Reproduced from D. Barrett. *loc. cit.*

The other sculptures in marble are the Mahishamardinī Durgā and Vaikuṇṭha Vishṇu. The Durgā image (PLATE XV, 3)[40] is four armed holding the muzzle of the Mahisha and trident in the lower and upper right hands respectively and probably sword and shield in the left hands. The example of Mahishamardinī found from Swat is not well preserved (PLATE XVI. 1,2).[41]

The Vaikuṇṭha sculpture (PLATE XVIII, 1)[42] found at Attock represents three heads in front being those of a man in centre and boar and lion on the left and right sides respectively, and the fourth face of a demon is engraved on the back side. The different faces are taken to represent Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Aniruddha and Pradyumna on the authority of the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*,[43] however, according to the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*, the faces may be taken as of human, lion, boar and Kapila.[44] Another example of such Vaishṇavite sculpture is noticed in terracotta from Peshawar (PLATE XVII, 3).[45] A Vaikuṇṭha sculpture seems to have been found at Ketas also.[46]

There are some terracotta heads (PLATE XVII, 4-5)[47] of the style of Ushkur and Akhnur terracottas of Kashmir, bought from a dealer from Peshawar which may be taken as the productions of the Shāhi period as suggested by D. Barrett.[48]

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[40] Reproduced from D. Schlumberger, *op. cit.* illustrations.

[41] Reproduced from G. Tuchi, *op. cit.*, illustrations.

[42] Reproduced from D. Barrett, *op. cit.*, illustrations.

[43] 3.47.2-17 ; 3.85. Cf. also J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 409.

[44] 6.74. The Vaikuṇṭha at Khajuraho is mentioned to have its some connection with the Shāhi tradition (*EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, p. 129. verse 43). The description of Vaikuṇṭha in verse 1 of the inscription under reference has been taken to refer to the four faces of the deity viz. man, lion boar and Kapila by V.S, Pathak (*Rāshṭrakavi Maithilī Śaraṇa Abhinandana Grantha*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 932. ff. also *JMPIP*, No. 2. 1960, pp. 9 ff.). The restoration of the said verse by L. K. Tripathi refers to only three faces of the god, i.e. man, lion and boar *Bhāratī*, No. 4. 1960-61, pp. 115 ff.).

[45] Reproduced from J. Burgess, *The Gandhāra Sculptures* in *JAI*, 1809, Pl. 20, No. 5.

[46] A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*. p. 93. Probably he wrongly identified the sculpture as a tāntrika god Vajra Vārāhī.

[47] Reproduced from D. Barrett, *op, cit.*, illustrations.

The coins of the period show the depiction of human and animal figures. Thn numismatic art as compared to the examples referred to above is of an inferior quality. On most of the coins Nandī is vigourously depicted but the horseman does not seem to have attracted much attention of the artists. The post-dated Sāmantadeva coins present the bull and horseman mere in sketches (Plates VI-VIII). The figures on the unique gold coin of Bhīmadeva deserve special notice, which are well executed and fairly embossed on the coin so as the details of the body may be noticed. The Lakshmī figure on the reverse of the gold coin is seated on lotus holding in her hand an uncertain object (*rājadaṇḍa?*) and in her left hand a lotus with long stalk (Plate VI, 1).

THE PEOPLE

Alberūnī notices that the Western mountainous frontier of India was inhabited by the tribes of the Hindus who were rebellious and savage.[49] These Hindus were the Afghans is proved by another passage of the same work.[50] May we identify these peoples with those of Kapiśa, referred to by Hiuen Tsang, who were of rude and violent temper ?[51] The Chinese pilgrim mentions Afghans inhabiting the reigon south-west of Kapiśa.[52] Saul, near Gardez, is mentioned in the *Hudūd al 'Ālam* as the place where Afghans lived.[53] However, these references do not disvalue the above suggestion and the possibilities sought in the light of the statements of Alberunī that the Afghans extended from the North Western frontier upto the Sindh Valley and that of 'Utbī who refers to the Afghans and Khaljis to be recruited into the army of Maḥmūd from the Lamghan-Peshawar region.[54] There were Afghan women in the harem of the chief of Nagara.[55] The Khalaja Turks are supposed to be the ancestors of the well known Afghan tribe Ghalzay. These Turkish people must have spread into Indian lands from their previous country lying between Hind and the districts of Sijistan, Balkh, Tukharistan, etc.[56] According to J. Marquart these people were the remnants of the Hephthalite hoards.[57] However, there is no doubt about the existence of the peoples of non-Indian origins. The fact that the Persians, Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Kushāṇas, Hūṇas and Gurjaras have once ruled the North Western frontier region for long periods and many of them came to be Indianised in due course of time needs no evidence. The Turkī Shāhi family of Kabul is the one example of the Hūṇic reminiscence in the country of the Shāhis.[58] The Indian tradition records the peoples of the foreign origins living in the Uttarāpatha even in the 10th-11th centuries.[59] The various peoples of the country are referred to by Hiuen Tsang in recording the miscellaneous way of marrying prevalent in Kapiśa.[60]

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[48] *op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.

[49] E. C. Sachau, *AI*, Vol. I, p. 199,

[50] In the western frontier mountains of India there live various tribes of the Afghans and extended up to the neighbourhood of the Sindh Valley' (*ibid.*, p. 208).

[51] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[52] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 34 f.

[53] V, Minorsky, *op. cit.*. 10. p. 91, No. 48, Cf. also *Supra*, p. 34.

The peoples living in Lampāka are noticed by the Chinese traveller as coward and insincere, ugly and ill-mannered but they were musical and used to dress themselves well, chiefly in cotton clothes.[61] The people of Nagara and Gandhāra are noted by him possessing good character and faint hearted. The people of the latter country were interested in practical arts. The people inhabiting the eastern part of the Shāhi country are recorded to have dressed themselves with the clothings made of muslin and silk etc., but following rude and bad ways.[62] The traditional accounts of India give many names of the peoples inhabiting the plains of the five rivers but we do not have any reference of them in relation to the Shāhis.

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[54] S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[55] V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 10, p, 91, No. 50.

[56] *ibid.*, 24, p. 111, No. 22 and p. 347, No. 22.

[57] *Erānsahar*, pp. 251 ff., as quoted by V. Minorsky, *loc. cit.*

[58] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 51 ff.

[59] The list of peoples of North Western region given in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājasekhara, *Kāvyasikshā* of Vinayachandra and *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra may be referred to.

[60] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

LANGUAGE AND LEARNING

The people of Kapiśa, as we learn from Hiuen Tsang, were using a coarse vulgar language and thier written language was very like that of Tokhāra.[63] The information of the Chinese pilgrim is not incorrect as we know that the country as inhabited by the people who originally belonged to some Turkish race. Some of the coins of Spalapatideva also support the information referred to above. These coins bear a legend in non-Indian script together with the legend in the Śāradā. The insignificance of the legend in the former script is well proved by its imitation to an extent that it became mere some crooked lines on the later issues.[64] The reason for this may be suggested that with the Hindu Shāhis the Indian language and script came to be prominently used imparting insignificance to the former one. From the studies of A. Cunningham and H. Humback we come to know that there were some Iranian words in Indian usages.[66] J. Marquart and Schurmann are of the opinion that in Swat.

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[61] *ibid.*, p. 181.

[62] *ibid.*, pp. 183 and 199.

[63] *ibid.*, p. 123.

[64] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 203 and 192, also pp. 133 f.

[65] *CMI*, p. 58.

[66] *Bhāratī*. Nos. X-XI. 1966-68. pp. 7 ff. Humback has also noted the views of H. W. Bailey,

the Iranian dialect was spoken, however, G. Tucci takes it as possible but not certain.[67]

By the time of the first reign of Sāmantadeva (*circa* 869-870 A.D.) the royal court was to favour Sanskrit as we find the use of *visargānta* legends on his and Khvadavayaka's coins.[68] The inscriptions and Bakhshālī Manuscript[69] bear a good testimony to the use of Sanskrit in the times of the Hindu Shāhi rulers. But, their Sanskrit is full of mistakes. The persons ignorant of knowing Sanskrit or Pali perhaps gave rise to a deteriorated Sanskrit which has been named as Gāthā by the scholars.[70] In other words Sanskrit was strongly influenced by Prakrit.[70a] Can this deterioration of language be taken to have inspired Ugrabhūti to write a book on grammar? Jayapāla and his son Ānandapāla were the patrons of this grammarian.[71] Thus it may be stated that in the period of the Hindu Shāhi kings Sanskrit got a revival.

The scholars and studious of Brāhmaṇas of Śālātura find mention in the account of Hiuen Tsang.[72] However, we do not have evidence to make any association of the place referred to with the grammarian Ugrabhūti, who was teacher and instructor of Ānandapāla, but the historic tradition of Śālātura taking into view and that the capital city Udabhāṇḍapura where Ugrabhūti was appointed, was in its neighbourhood, we may propose that the teacher of

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[67] *EW*, Vol. 14, Nos. 3-4, September-December 1963, p. 167, f. n. 36.

[68] For coins, Cf. *Supra*, pp. 198 ff. and 199 f. The use of Arabic legend in the Persian script on the coins of Khvadavayaka may show the use of Arabic and Persian. There were Muslims even at Udabhāṇḍapura who may have been using their own language.

[69] For inscriptions. Cf. *Supra*, pp. 164 ff.

[70] Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, quoted by A.F.R. Hoernle, *IA*, Vol. XVII. 1883, p. 205 ; G. Buhler, *EI*, Vol. I, 1892-93, pp. 238 f.

[70a] The Kura inscription, the language of which is called as Gāthā by G. Bühler, is taken by D.C. Sircar to have been written in Sanskrit which is strongly influened by Prakrit (*Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 422).

[71] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol, I, p. 135.

[72] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

Ānandapāla would have belonged to that very centre of study where Pāṇini was born.

Ugrabhūti's work *Śishyahitanyāsa* is a commentary on Kāntāra grammar or Kālapa. Kāntāra grammar was very popular in Kashmir and Bengal. The oldest work of this school of grammar known to us is by Durga Siṁha who flourished in about 800 A.D. and has written a commentary entitled *Durgavṛitti* and a *Tīkā* of it.[73]

From Alberūnī we learn that the commentary by Ugrabhūti was perhaps not recognised by Kashmiri scholars n beginning, but with the grant of scholarships to the students of the *Śishyahitanyāsa* Ugrabhūti's work was brought to its popularity by the king Ānandapāla.[74]

The provenance and palaeography of the *Bakhshālī Manuscript* being village Bakhshali in Peshawar district and the Śāradā of about the 9th century A.D.[75] respectively, leads us to reason that the people of the period under review were interested in the learning of mathematics as well.

The work is not an original composition, but there is no doubt, that the final form was given by a mathematician of about the 9th century A.D. According to G.R. Kaye, 'the script, the language, the content of the work as far as they can give any chronological evidence, all point to this period (12th century A.D.)'.[76] However. his view is contradictory to his own statements like, 'the maths dealt with is older than the manuscript', 'it was scribed by five persons' and 'the manuscript is not a copy at all'.[77] The way in which A.F.R. Hoernle forwarded his suggestion leading to date the work to about 3rd or 4th century A.D. is a convincing one.[78] His view is also followed by M. Cantor, C. Cajori and B. Dutta.[79]

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[73] For details about Kāntāra grammar Cf. S.K. Belvalkar, *System of Sanskrit Grammar*, Bombay, 1915, p. 91.

[74] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 135 f. The information of Alberūnī seems quite correct. We know that at the time when Ugrabhūti wrote his work, Bhattajagaddhara and Chhichhubhatta (*circa* 1000 A.D.) also produced their works *Bālabodhinī* and *Laghuvṛitti* respectively in Kashmir and thus a clash would have been unavoidable. The best suited way to make Ugrabhūti's work popular was the grants of scholarships which attracted the students.

[75] Cf. *Supra*, p. 171.

[76] *The Bakhashālī Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1927, 135,

Hoernle considers the manuscript being a *Karaṇa* work, from the method of its treatment.[80] The very elaborate manner of composition without trying to avoid even unnecessary repetitions, explanatory notes, mention of synonyms, in no way difficult, of words and technical terms has led B. Dutta still further in calling the *Bakhshālī Manuscript* not a treatise on mathematics in its true sense but a commentary—a running commentary, of course on an earlier work.[81] The present work evidences the handwritings of five persons[82] who would have collectively produced the manuscript. The colophon of the work informs us that it was written (not composed) by a Brāhmaṇa named Gaṇakarāja[83] who was a son of Chhajaka, for the education of the son of Vasishṭha (whose name is not preserved) and which is useful for subsequent generations.[84] Gaṇakarāja seems to be the main scribe of the manuscript and probably the person who has solved the problems.

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[77] *ibid.*, 122, pp. 74 f.n., 11, 97

[78] *IA*, Vol. XVII, 1888, p. 36.

[79] Cf. *BCMS*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1929, pp. 55 ff ; also M. Cantor, *Geschichte der Math*, I, p. 598 ; C. Cajori, *History of Mathematics*, Boston, 1922, p. 85, as quoted by B. Dutta.

[80] *IA*, Vol. XII. 1883, p. 89.

[81] *BCMS*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1929, p. 4.

[82] G. R. Kaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 97.

[83] Gaṇaka means a mathematician. However, to take the word as the name of the main scribe will not be incorrect. The name of his father ending in *ka* leads to consider Gaṇaka as the name of the son. This treatment to the word concerned also fulfills the need of the sentence. Does the suffix raja suggest any association of Gaṇaka with the royal court ?

[84] *Vāsishṭhaputra Śikshyārthe putrapautra upayogyaṁ bhavatuḥ likhitam Chhajakaputra gaṇakarāja brāhmaṇena. The Bakhshālī Manuscript*, folio 50 verse.

This compendium of rules and illustrative examples, together with their solutions is devoted to arithmetic, algebra and geometry including mensuration. The major portion which has survived is of arithmetical interest and only a few problems of geometry have remained. The work discusses the following topics—fraction, square root, arithmetical and geometrical progression, income and expenditure, profit and loss, computation of gold, interests, rule of three, sumation of complex series, simple equation, simultaneous linear equations, quadratic equation, indeterminate equation of the second degree, mensuration and miscellaneous problems.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

The rich economy of the Shāhi country is well borne out from their long term resistance of the Muslim inroads and from the references to the accumulated wealths of the temples and the production and trade as well. If the high valued ransoms given to the Arabs be considered at least once paid, if not in the successive years, comes to a lot of 35530000 dirhams with payments to them in kind as well as Hajjaj. The Shāhis are recorded to have got only once the sum of 500000 dirhams.[85] The Ghaznavids are recorded to have captured immense booty including elephants, store of arms and other values. Even if we do not take into account the heavy ransom for Jayapāla's release, that whether it was paid or not, the high priced necklaces of Hindu chiefs, members and relatives of the royal family and that of Jayapāla which singularly was valued at about 200000 dīnāras, were taken off by the Muslims. The plunder of temples like Sakāvanta and Bhīma Nagara were purposely done for the loot of accumulated wealth. What Maḥmūd captured at Bhīma Nagara was, as 'Utbī has record, 'the wealth collected for the temple from the kings, nobles and pious sulṭāns of Hindustan, who used to send, from time to time, treasures of every sort there in, costly pearls light in weight. The Ghaznavid king acquired here so much of the best that had been gathered here for ages, that there were not enough camels to carry it, nor other means of transport either. The clerks could not prepare an inventory and the imagination of the accounts failed to grasp it in their number...booty as could never imagined, precious metals, pearls and necklaces and ornament for the chest...the treasures of gold, silver and precious articles and stock of jewels. The Sultān himself took out of it as much as the camels could carry. The remainder was allowed to be appropriated by his chiefs. The silver coins numbered 7 crore royal dirhams and the gold objects weighed 7004000 maunds. Such a great quality of silk and other fine clothes were acquired that the aged, as well as the learned were compelled to declare that they had never seen before such fine materials. Among other things, there was a house made of silver, 30 yards × 15 yards and a canopy of Greek silk, 40 yards × 20 yards, having two of its supporters of gold, and two of silver.' The value of captured treasures is more correctly to be imagined from the evaluation of the quality of materials. 'When the treasures were displayed at Khorasan, there were pearls glittering like stars, diamonds flashing like live coals or solidified fire, emeralds crossing the sides of myrtle or soft like the leaves of the wild ivy, pieces of diamonds as big and heavy as big pomegranates.' The whole of the capture was accessed as follows : 'All persons agreed that such vast wealth had not been acquired either by the great chiefs or by the kings of Persia and Greece. The persons saw what eyes had never seen before nor imagination thought possible.[86]

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[85] The total is from the numbers given by Balādhurī Cf. F. C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, Part XVIII, chapters I and II.

Even if these descriptions be considered as exaggerated the sound economy of the Shābi kingdom is well presumable.

However, the economy of the warring nation was gradually becoming poorer. Is is well evident from the direct evidence of coins starting with greater purity of silver, showing culmination in gold and being debased in later times.

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[86] From 'Utbī Cf. S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff., 45 ff.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

The evidences show that the Hinduism was the main creed of the peoples and Buddhism, Jainism and Islam were the religions of minorities.

The king of Kapiśā was a Buddhist when Hiuen Tsang visited the country. This king used to make every year a lifesize silver image of Buddha and at Mokshaparishad he used to give liberally to the needy and to widows and widowers.[87] The Turkī Shāhis gave patronage to Buddhism may also be borne out from the information of Alberūnī, though not correct, that the author of the stūpa at Purushpura belonged to this very dynasty.[88] Hiuen Tsang notices Hīnayana and Mahāyana both prevalent in Kapiśa and Gandhāra.[89] Buddhism seems to have been a popular religion of the region upto the 8th century A.D. when the Chinese official Wu-K'ong, who was sent to Kapiśa by the Chinese emperor, was attracted to adopt it.[90]

However, side by side with Buddhism, Chinese pilgrim also refers to the Deva temples, Digambaras, Pāśupatas and to those Śaivas who wore the wreaths of skulls as head ornaments.[91] Gandhāra was a place of flourishing Hinduism with slight reminiscence of Buddhism.[92]

The Hindu Shāhis were the devotees of Hinduism. These Brahma-Kshatra kings[93] were the founders of Vaishṇava and

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[87] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[88] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 11 ff.

[89] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 123 ff.

[90] Cf. R. C. Majumdar and others, eds., *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1962 print, pp. 622 f. : 1895, pp. 337 ff.

[91] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[92] *ibid.*, pp. 198 ff.

[93] Cf. *Supra*, p. 80.

Śaiva temples.[94] The Sun worship is also inferred from the references that the people of Hind used to visit the temple of Multan[95] and that a king named Bharata founded a Sun temple at Lahore (Lohūr).[96] The sun worshiper Brāhmaṇas are mentioned by Alberūnī.[97] The sculptures to be dated to the Shāhi times present the evidence of the worship of Vishṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī, Kārttikeya and Mahishāsuramardinī, prevalent in the country.[98]

There is good reason to believe Islam as one of the religions which also flourished in the Shāhi period. The references to the Muslim population inhabiting Udabhāndapura[99] and Asifān[100] in pre-Ghaznavid occupation is enough to support the conviction.

TRADE

The trade under the Shāhis was in flourishing condition. The Indus and Kabul rivers with their tributaries and the land routes of the Northern region provided opportunities to develop contacts with the countries far and wide.[101] The trade contacts with adjacent countries is indicated not only by the references of the routes connecting them with India, rather by definite mention of the export and import goods and the mercantile communities by the writers of yore. Cotton, wool, karakul skin and fruits which are among the principal exports of Afghanistan[102] were recorded in common use by Hiuen Tsang in the regions of Kapiśa, Lampāka, Gandhāra and Takka.[103] The silk mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim used in Kapiśa[104] may be taken as an import from China. The excellent horses and saffron of Kapiśa[105] and the other goods of export only would have provided the country to collect many rare commodities from other regions.[106] The Kāpiśāyana, a name of the wine from Kapiśa in the ancient times[107] is recorded in the early mediaeval days as a synonym of wine,[108] clearly indicates the profuse export of wine from Kapiśa and its popularity in general. In the mention of myrobalan fruits, which were brought to Caliph Al-Mamūn quite fresh from Kabul,[109] an export of fruits from the country may be suggested.

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[94] For temples, Cf, *Supra*, pp. 227 ff.

[95] Cf. R. K. Chaube, *Indian as told by Muslims*, Varanasi. 1969, pp. 149 ff.

[96] *Ādāb-ul-Mulūk wa Kifāyat-ul-Mamlūk* of Muhammad bin Manṣūr, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 491.

[97] E. C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol; I, pp. 21 and 121.

[98] For sculptures, Cf, *Supra*. pp. 231 ff.

[99] Muqaddāsī, p. 485 as quoted by I. H. Qureshi, *Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 'S-Gravenhage, 1962, p. 58.

[100] Balādhurī, F. C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

[101] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 28 ff.

[102] J. C. Griffiths, *Afghanistan*, London, 1967, p. 145, Appendix II.

The find spots of the Shāhi coins throughout the Northern India and the area from Baluchistan to Europe and U.S.S.R.[110] bear clear evidence that those coins travelled through the trading communities[111] who are noticed at the emporiums of Parvān, Lamghān, Dūnpur and Udabhāṇḍapura.[112]

It was the flourishing trade throughout the country which attracted the covetous eyes of the Muslim inroaders.[113] The success of Sabuktigin and Mahmūd in holding sway over Indian lands opened the road for caravans and merchants between Khurasan and Hind resulting in the development of Ghazni as a trade centre in the 10th-11th centuries A.D.[114] The glory and the important economic role of Kabul and Udabhāṇḍapura gradually transferred to the emerging trade centre.

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[103] T, Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 181, and 286.

[104] *ibid*; p. 123. 'Utbi refers to Greek silk at Bhīma Nagara (S. R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

[105] *ibid.*, p. 122. The export of the best class of horses is recorded from Kamboja, Sindhu, Vāhlika and Saurīra in the Kautilīya *Arthaśāstra* ed. by R. S. Sastri, Mysore, 1909, II, 30 Rājasekhara has also noticed the horses of Uttarāpatha (*Kāvyamimāṁsā*. ed. by C. D. Dayal and R. A, Shastry, Baroda, 1916, p. 94).

[106] T. Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 and 221.

[107] Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, Lucknow, 1951, pp. 118 f.

[108] *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha (*Halāyudhākośa*), ed: by Jayasankara Josi, Varanasi, Saka, 1879. II. 174.

[109] Balādhurī, F. C, Murgotten, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, also 155.

[110] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 209 ff.

[111] *JNSI*, Vol. XXVII, pt. II, 1965, pp. 149 f.

[112] V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 91 and 112.

[113] Cf. *Supra*, pp. 130 ff.

THE PIOUS DEATH OF JAYAPĀLA

From 'Utbī we learn that when Jayapāla was released from Mahmūd's camp, he wrote a letter to his son after coming to his territories, telling him how greatly he was troubled and worried by the humiliation he had to undergo. After being a prisoner of the Musalmans he was not worthy to sit on the throne. In such helplessness he shaved his head and burnt himself to death.[115] Firishta adds that whatever king of India was twice overpowered by strangers was not qualified to reign.[116]

Though we are not unaware of the religious suicides committed by the kings of mid-India in the Early Mediaeval period[117] but to agree with Firishta that it was a custom of those days is not quite correct. If the custom was the factor to renounce the throne and choose the pious death the successors of Jayapāla would have also followed him at their turns.[118] Reasonable it is to agree that it were the troubles and wories of humiliation which Jayapāla had to undergo ultimately led the Shāhi king to renounce the world. When the gloring king Jayapāla with his family members and chiefs was made prisoner, 'Utbī records,[119] the faces of these persons were besmeared with dust of *kufr* and air of humiliation, their arms were bound at backs, their heads were hanging down in shame, their faces were overspread with dispair, the necklace of Jayapāla (and also of others[120]) made of studded pearls, precious jewels and red rubis was taken off his neck. Not only this much, rather the way in which his ransom was fixed is recorded by Unṣurī and the anonymous writer of *Futūh us Salatīn* that he was sold in the market of slaves for merely 80 dirhams.[121]

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[114] *loc. cit.*, H.C. Ray, *DHNI*, p. 94 ; E.C. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh. 1963, p. 36.

[115] S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[116] J. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[117] Cf. U. Thakur, *History of Suicide in India*, Delhi, 1962, pp. 77 ff:

[118] However, U. Thakur incorrectly refers to the self immolation of Ānandapāla on no authority (*ibid.*, p. 63).

[119] 8 R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

All this will lead us to believe that it was the *Kufr* only which led Jayapāla to renounce the throne and seek a religious death throwing himself into the sacred fire which was a bold and graceful step matching to his career.

THE SHĀHI COURT

The court and ministry of the Hindu Shāhi kings is only once referred to by Kalhaṇa.[122] But we know only about Kallar who was the minister of the last Turkī Shāhi king Lagatūrmān [123]

CHIEFS

We can only infer about the chiefs ruling in different specific regions of the country. The Turkī Shāhis and also probably the early rulers of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty put the South-Western region of Kapiśa under the Ratbil, whom Balādhurī refers to many a time as an independent king.[124] From Alberūnī we learn that Kabul, before it fell under the Muslim hands, was ruled by a governor.[125] The king of Nagara mentioned in the *Hudūd al ʻĀlam* must be taken as a chief under Jayapāla who is mentioned ruling at Udabhāṇḍapura in the same work.[126] Ānandapāla is once referred to have annexed the kingdom of Lohūr,[127] where presumably he was made governor. 'Utbī probably refers to such chiefs as Thākurs and Sardārs who were with Bhīmapāla in the battle of Nandana.[128]

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[120] *ibid.*, p. 23, mentioned by Gardīzī.

[121] *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 494 and 495.

[122] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 69.

[123] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. pp, 13.

[124] Cf. F.C. Murgotten, *op. cit.*, pt. XVIII Chapter I and II.

[125] E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 157.

CORONATION

The coronation of king was performed with the *abhisheka* ceremony. Kalhaṇa has referred to the *abhisheka* of Thakkana when he was reinstalled by Yaśodhara.[129]

BEEF EATING AND SODOMY REGARDED DISGRACEFUL

It appears form Alberūnī[130] that when Kabul fell under the hands of Muslims, probably in the time of Alptigin,[131] the Hindu governor before being converted to Islam put forth the condition that he should not be bound to eat beef and to commit sodomy. Manṣūr has referred to that King Jayapāla and the whole of the branch of the clan to which he belonged always loathed to take beef.[132]

THE ROYAL LADIES

However, we know nothing about the queens of the Shāhi kings, but their morale is well guessed from those who were their daughters and married to the kings or royal officers of Kashmir. From the time of Bhīmadeva and even after the extinction of the royal dynasty we hear about the Shāhi

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126. V. Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 10, p. 91, nos. 50, 56.
127. *Kitāb ul-Mulūk wa Kifāyat ul-Mamluk*, *JRAS*, 1927, p. 493.
128. S.R. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 51. He also refers to the chiefs and confidants of Jayapāla but we do not get any specific mention (*ibid.*, pp, 34. 38).
129. *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, VI. 232
130. E.C. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 157.
131. H.M. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 424.
132. *Ādābul Harb wash Shuja's*, *IC*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 ,July 1948, p. 298,

princesses from Kalhaṇa.[133] Harsha's wife Vasantalehkā (*circa* 1089-1101 A.D.) founded maṭhas and agrahāras.[134] Bimbā who was daughter of Trilochanapāla and daughter-in-law of Tuṅga the prime minister of Saṅgrāmarāja (*circa* 1003-1028 A.D.) committed Satī[135] The Shāhi wives of Harsha are also mentioned to have entered funeral pyres and burnt themselves with their dead consort.[136]

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133. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VI. 176-178, marriage of Bhīmadeva's daughter with Siṁharāja, the king of Lohara ; VII.103, marriage of Biṁbā with the son of Tuṅga ; VII. 956, marriage of Vasantalekhā with Harsha ; VII. 1470, 1550, 1551, the Shāhi princesses referred to as wives of Harsha ; VIII. 227, the Shahi queens of Harsha.
134. *ibid.*, VII, 956.
135. *ibid.*, VII. 103.
136. *ibid.*, VII, 1550, 1571.

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[ABBREVIATIONS: anc., ancient; b., bin., ibn ; c., circa ; Cen., Century ; d., died ; dau , daughter ; E., East ; emp., empire, emperor ; fl., flourished ; gov., governor ; k., king (s) ; Mt., Mountains ; N., North ; mod., modern ; n., foot-note; R., river ; r., reign(ed) ; repr., reprint ; S., South ; s., son ; V.S., Vikrama Samvat ; W. West.

Note. :—1. All dates are A.D , excepting where indicated otherwise.

2. For full titles of journals etc., see the 'List of Abbreviations.'

3. Dates within brackets immediately after (i) names of persons, are dates of birth (and dates of death where necessary) ; (ii) titles of books or caption of articles, are dates of publication ; (iii) description of persons, such as 'author' or 'editor', are the dates of publication of their works.]

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Drūta, fortress, (11th. Cen.), on the confluence of R. Sawa & R. Kabul, 25, 35.

Duki, subdivision town of Loralai district in Baluchistan, provenance of Sāmantadeva coins, 207.

Dunpūr, town, on the right bank of R. Kabul, 96° 25' long., 34° 20' lat. (1030), Adīnapūr (1505), trade emporium, 25, 35, 246.

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Gadūra, Gandhāra a province of Achaemenid empire (B.C. 540-330), 15.

Gadun territory, southern slopes of Mt. Mahaban, where R. Indus issues from the hills, 165.

Gaṇaka, Gaṇakarāja of Bakhshālī Ms., NWFP (9th. Cen.), 241, 241, 241n83-4.

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Gandhāra, country, comprising mod. Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts, on both sides of R. Indus, 2, 16, 17. 17n18. 18, 19, 25, 37, 38, 45, 52, 56, 57, 59, 59n58, 61, 61n70, 62, 62n72. 68, 79n14, 98, 122, 122n259, 124, 134, 136, 136n24, 238, 244, 246; see Gadūra; Qandahār; art style, 232; Gandhāras, 17n18; "Gandhara sculputures" (1809), 235n45.

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Ganguli, Dhirendra Chandra (1899) author (1955, 1957), 5n26, 94n94, 103n141-2, 113n207.

Gardez, capital of Pakthia province, SE Afghanistan, situated at junction of roads from Ghazni, (34 miles W.) Kabul (70 miles NW) and Bannu (Pakistan), sculptures, 232n25; Saul, 236.

Gazna, Indian dirham used in, (1280), 209: see Ghazni.

Ghalzay, (Ghilzai), the largest Afghan ethnic group (of Turco-Iranian origin), 237.

Ghaznavids (977-1186), ruling house of Khurasan, Afghanistan and N. India, 44n255, 109, 110, 130, 212, 242, 243, 245.

Ghaznavids (1963), 100n129, 247n114 : see Bosworth.

Ghazni, a province and its chief town in eastern Afghanistan, 90 miles SW of Kabul; capital of (1) Hūṇas of Zabulistan from 4th-5th Cen., (2) Lawiks, 10th Cen., (3) Ghaznavids, 10th-12th Cen.; included in Hind, 14; Fa-la-na. SE of, 19; land routes, 30 ; Logar valley, 33 n 153; Opokien. Afghans, (644) 34; Yaqub Saffarid (869). 86; Muslims (905), 95; Mahipāla (912-42) attacks Ramaṭha. 97n105; Alptigin (963), 102; Lūwik (973), 103 ; Sabuktigin (977). 103 ; Jayapāla attacks (986), 103 ; battle of Nimla (986-7), 103 n 146 ; Ghaznavid capital, 130 ; transit trade centre, 131, 247 ; sculptures found in, 232 n 25 , see Gazna.

Ghorvand R., mod. Ghorband in Parwan province in East-Central Afghanistan, tributary of R Panjshir which joins R. Kabul in Laghman ; noticed by Alberūnī, 25, 33, 35.

Ghūzak Pass, Ghūrak, Ghorak, noticed by 'Utbi (1021), Alberunī (1030) 'Gardīzi (c 1050) and Baihaqi (1059) on events of 987 & 1010 ; mod. Ghorak lies 50 miles NW of Kandahar (Afghanistan), 25.

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Gilgit, Valley, NW of Kashmir, Shāhi k. of (7th Cen), 1n2; see Inscription.

Ginezdoro, E. Europe, coins, 209n176

Giridharpur Pillar Inscription, 56n39.

Gomal R., rises in two branches in western Su'aiman range, flows to Domandi on Pakistan border, falls into R. Indus as R. Luni. The Gomal valley has been one of the approaches to the Punjab from W., from anc. times, 19; = Ṛgvedic R. Gomati.

Gomo, Shāhi, a scion of Fromo (862), Tochi Valley inscription, 46n5.

Gopālavarman, minor k. of Kashmir (r. 902-904), guardian. Sugandha 91; minister, Prabhākaradeva, 92; accession, 93; expedition against the Shāhi, 100n127.

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Hamūn-i-Helmund, lake of Sīstān into which R. Helmand drains, 70.

Harikanta, imitation of Gupta coins, 185n51 ; see Bhīmarāja.

Harsha, k. of Kashmir, r. 1089-1101, 249, 250, 250n133.

Harsha era, 135n22.

Harun al-Rashid (766-809), fifth 'Abbasid caliph, r. 786-809, 71.

Haryana, Indian State, 16.

Haytal, of Arab writers, White Hūṇas, Ye-Ta of Chinese authors, people of Central Asia along R. Oxus (4th-5th Cen.) formed powerful kingdoms in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, 74n135 ; see Chionites-Hephthalite ; Hūṇa (s).

Hayy Ibn-'Amār (857), Arab officer in Tochi valley, NWFP 67n 104.

Hazara, district, NWFP comprising Manshera, Abbotabad and Haripur tehsils : offers an easy transit on between the Frontier and the Punjab ; lies at the base of Mt. Himalayas : Uraśā (902), 90, Śāradā script, 134.

Hecataeus of Miletus (B.C. 6th-5th Cen.), Greek historian and traveller, 15.

Hei-Ling, (Black range), Koh-i-Bābā and Paghmān range, (630), 2[illegible] ; see Bhañjanāgiri · Black Range.

Heliocles, Indo-Greek k., coins, 186n 58.

Helmand R., Helmund, rises in Koh-i-Bābā, flows in Zamīn-Dāwar province and falls in lake of Sīstān, 600 miles long, 14, 14n6 ;

Helmund valley, Indian k. of, (650), 70.

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Herat, province and its chief town in W, Afghanistan ; on R. Hari Rud ; conquered by Yaqub-ibn-Laith (867) from the Tahirid possession, 72.

Hermaeus, Indo-Greek k., coins, 188n69.

Herodotus (fl. 5th Cen. B.C.), Greek historian, 15.

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Hindu Kush, mt range in Afghanistan, watershed between Oxus and Indus basins, length 500 miles ; boundary of Shāhi kingdom, 17 ; Kapiśa, 18 ; Kabulistan, [illegible]1 ; natural boundary of India, 22 ; rivers, 28 ; extent of Turki Shāhi kingdom 68 ; political history (7th Cen.), 69.

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Hindu tribes, of Kabul Valley, 190 : of Indian frontier (1030), 236.

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Hirmand R., (1504), Hirmand (1340). Hindmand (1225), Hidhmand (982), Lo-mo-yin-to (644). Etymandrus (150), Erymanthus (B.C. 150), Hāetūma (n) t (Avesta), mod. Helmand, 14n6 ; see Helmand ; Helmund.

Hiuen Tsang (c 605-664) Chinese pilgrim, 629-645. 17-23, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34-38, 38n203, 43, 51, 51n 6, 52, 59, 60, 68, 74, 78, 79, 82-3, 83 n 33, 121, 122 n 259, 124, 133, 227, 232, 235, 237, 238, 239, 244 ; 246 ; see Beal ; Cunningham ; Watters.

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Hutpāl, wrong version of Ishṭpāl, 101n130.

Huvishka, Kushāṇa emp., 46n 7, 47n12, 188 n 76.

Hwui-Li, S., editor (1911), 17n20 ; see *Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Beal.

Hyrcania, S. of Caspian Sea, W. of R. Oxus ; province in NE Iran, Iran, Gurgan ; mod. Astarabad ; title of war minister in, under Parthians, 117.

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Ibrahim bin-Jabbal, Gov. of Zabulistan Kāpiśī sacked (792-3) by, 32, 72, 121.

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Irāvā, Irāvatī, anc. Airāvatī mod. R.Rāvi; Ṛgvedic, Paruṣṇī; Strabo (1st. Cen. B. C.), Hyarotis; Ptolemy (c 150), Adris, Rhouadis; Arrian (c 180). Hydraotes: Pāṇini (c 500 B. C), Irāvatı; 26; noticed by Alberūni (1030), 27.

Ishṭapāla (fl. 10th Cen.) Hindu Shāhi. 100, 101, 101n130. 102 213.

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Istakhrī, Abū Ishaq Ibrahim (fl. 951), author, speaks of Kabul-shāh, 33.

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Ja'afar bin'Alī, Shaikh, fl. 12th Cen.) of Damascus. 3, 208-209.

Jagarsom, Jogar Om (Sharma), Jugsoma (Briggs), image of Vishṇu (Habib), named Chakrasvāmin (Alberūnī) at Thanesar (1011), 111.

Jagdalak Pass, in Sian Koh range, 6,200 ft. height, on main Kabul-Landi Kotal metalled road, 19.

Jahaj, Rajput k.=Jajuhas, 79n14.

Jahrāvār, locality, anc. Sauvīra, 26.

Jaipala, 78n10 see Jayapāla.

Jajjanīr, locality, in Punjab, 30, 30n130.

Jajuha, Rajput tribe in Salt range, Janjūa, 79n14.

Jalalabad, capital of Nangarhar province in E. Afghanistan, on R. Kabul, anc. Nagara, 18, 36; route, 19; Sāradā script, 134.

Janapada, 15n11; see Sindhu.

Janapāla, —Zanbil, 73.

Janer, a large mound of ruins half way between Ludhiana and Ferozpore in East Punjab, 207n157.

JOAS, 64 (1944), 133n3-4;see Thomas (F.)

Jayapāla, Hindu Shāhi k. (c 962-1001), 7, 15, 17, 28, 30, 36, 39, 41, 41n237, 78n10, 95n98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 102n136, 102n140. 103, 104, 104n151, 105, 105n157, 106, 106-

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Jhelum, district in Rawalpindi division of W. Punjab (Pakistan), 20, 40, 81, 82, 84, 123.

Jhelum R., of Kashmir and Pakistan, most westerly of the 'five rivers' of Punjab, 15, 26, 30, 40, 134n13.

Jhusi, town, on the confluence of R. Ganga and R. Jamuna, opposite Allahabad; anc. Pratisthāna; copper plate inscription (1027) discovered at (1889), 135n18.

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Kaboul, = Chichapalapoura, 34 n160.

Kabul, capital of Afghanistan; on R, Kabul; province, area 3, 280sq. km; elevation, 6,000 ft. above sea level. Seat of culture since anc. times; 1, 2, 3, 14, 14n6, 15, 17, 18, 20, 25, 29, 30, 33, 34, 38, 43, 44n255, 45, 45-n1, 51, 51n1, 53, 55, 58, 59, 60, 60n59, 61, 63n80, 65, 67, 67n105, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 72n121, 74, 75, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 86n50, 87, 87n50-1, 88, 89, 90, 90n65, 94, 97, 98, 116, 121, 122, 123, 127, 130, 131, 134, 136, 136n24, 180, 190, 199, 207, 209, 230, 232, 232n25, 237, 246, 247, 248, 249; see *Cabool*.

Kabul R., rises at Sar-i-Chashma, on the east side of Unai pass, passes through Jalalabad and Peshawar valleys, falls into R. Indus at Attock, joined by Logar, Panjshir, Tagao, Laghman (united by streams of Alingar and Alishang), Surkhab, Kunar, Swat, and Bara rivers in the course; 300 miles in length. Kophen of Pliny (77), Koa of ptolemy (c150), Kophes of Arrian (c180), Kubhā, Kuhu, Ghorvand, Lamghan, 18, 19, 24, 26, 35, 38, 103n146, 127, 245; Valley, 19, 29, 59, 70, 72, 190.

"Kabul Inscription of Shāhi Khingāla" edited by Sircar, 46n5.

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Kabura, or Karoura of Ptolemy, = Kabul, identified as, 34.

Kadphises, Kushāna, 57n46.

Kadphises I, Kushāna emp., 57n-46.

Kadphises II, Kushāna emp., coins of, 188n74, 188n76.

Kafiristan, mod. Nuristan in Afghanistan, bounded by Badakhshan on N., Chitral on E. Kunar and Laghman valleys on S., and, Nijrao and Panjshir valleys on W., 18.

Kafir Kot, Dera Ismail Khan district, 8 miles below the junction of R. Indus and R. Kuram; 25 miles above Bilot; temples in ruins, 42, 227, 231.

Kālar, near the junction of R. Sawān and R. Indus in Jhelum district; ruins of temple at, 42, 81, 207, 230, 231 n 22.

Kalhana (fl. 12th Cen.), author (1148-1150), 1n2, 1n3, 2, 37, 49, 51, 52, 59n57, 61, 68, 77, 78, 79, 80n21, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 113, 114, 122, 206, 227, 229, 248, 249; see Stein (1892).

Kalinjar, principality, Bundelkhand, (10th Cen.), joined Jayapāla, 104,107n165; see Chandela(s); Dhanga.

Kallar, founder of Hindu Shāhi dynasty. (r. c860-862) 7, 65, 67, 67 n 105 68, 80, 80 n 21, 81, 81n23-5, 82, 83, 83 n 34 85, 85 n 45, 86n49, 89 n 60, 115, 116, 117, 118, 118n234-5, 132, 231, 248.

Kamala, Kamaladeva, Hindu Shāhi k., same as Kamalavarman, 92, 197, 198, 219.

Kamalavarman, Hindu Shāhi, k. (r. c900-905), 86 n 49, 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95 n 99, 100 n 127, 122, 127, 132, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 164, 164 n 105, 173, 175, 183, 191, 197, 198, 206, 219.

Kamaluka, Kamalu, Hindu Shāhi k., same as Kamalavarman, 7, 87 n 54, 89, 92, 93, 93 n 84, 94, 95n95, 206n153.

Kamara, identification of, 7.

Kamboja, anc. janapada in N. Afghanistan (Iranians under Achaemenids) (B.C. 540-onwards), 246n-105.

Kanak, identification of, 65, 84 n 40.

Kanauj, in Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh, anc. Kānyakubja ; under Gurjara-Pratihara empire (810-1035), 2, 30, 63, 64 n 84, 97 n 106, 104, 107, 107 n 165, 230.

Kandahar, province and its chief city in south-central Afghanistan ; elevation 3,460 ft. : 14.

Kandahar, (=Gandhāra), 19, 79 n 14 ; see Qandahar.

Kangra Valley, now in Himachal Pradesh ; anc. principalities of Kira, and Kulūta, 20 ; Bhatul hills, 23 ; rainfall, 42 ; Hindu Shāhis, 97, 230 ; Śāradā script, 134 n 13, 139.

Kanishka I, Kushāṇa emp., 46n7, 47, 52, 63, 63 n 80, 64, 64 n 84.

Kapiśa, anc. country, noticed by Darius I, Pāṇini, Herodotus, Kauṭilya, Eucratides, Menander, Pliny, Ptolemy, Solinus, *Wei-shu* (572), Hiuen Tsang, and Ya' qubi (891) ; commanding three passes from R. Kabul valley to Oxus basin ; a province in east-central Afghanistan, comprising districts of Darnama, Kohistan, Nejrab, Panjsher and Tagab, area 4, 658 sq. km ; under Turki Shāhis (c475-793), 2, 16, 17, 18 18 n 29, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29, 31, 37, 43, 51, 52, 59, 60, 62, 68, 79, 82, 83n33, 121, 122n 259, 127, 227, 232, 236 ; 237, 238, 244, 246, 248.

Kāpiśāyna, wine from grapes, 43, 246.

Kāpiśī, capital city of Kapiśa · mod. Begram on the confluence of Ghorband and Panjshir rivers : Turki Shāhi—capital 17 ; Ku-lu-sa-pang NE of, 31 ; Begram, 31n137 ; history, 32 ; sacked (793), 72 ; Arab raids, 72n121.

Kāśikā, noticing Lohitāgiri, on Pāṇini sūtra iv. 3. 91, 22.

Kaśyapapura, = Multan, 39.

Katourman, = Lagatūrman, 65n96.

Kaṭor (s), tribes of Kafiristan, known as Siāhposh Kātir, Spīn Kafirs, etc. 45n3, 65.

Kāyabish, = Kapiśa, 18, 25.

Kaye, George Rusby (1866-), author (1927), 162n100-1, 215n207, 240, 241n82 ; see *Bakshālī Manuscript*.

Kekaya anc. country, mod. Jhelum and Shahpur districts in W. Punjab, 20.

Khiṅgāla, Otyāta-shāhi, of Kabul inscription, 46 ; identified with Khiṅgila of coin, 134n11 ; see below.

Khiṅgila, Narendraditya, Hūṇa k. of Kashmir (c510-535), Deva Shāhi title used in coin ; 134n11.

Krokbar (s), tribe of the Punjab, totally distinct from Gakkhars ; joined Ānandapāla (1009), 110, 127.

Khotan, town in Sinkiang province of China, 270 miles SE of Kashgar ; see *Ancient Khotan* ; Khotanese Śaka language, 48, 48n17.

Khurāsān, North-Eastern province of Iran, 105n157, 131, 203, 243, 247.

Khvadavayaka, Hindu Shahi k. (r. c870-872), and his coins, 7, 67, 68, 82n30, 83, 84, 86, 87, 87n51, 87n54, 88, 92n77, 95n95, 118, 132, 144, 154, 155, 156, 173, 174, 175, 176, 183, 191, 192, 198, 198n124, 199n125, 203, 205, 206, 211, 212, 219, 223, 239, 239n68.

Kidāra Kushāṇas, Little Yueh-chi, (Kabul Valley, 3rd quarter of 4th Cen.), used Shāhi title, 48, 53.

Kiev, province and State, USSR, coins of Sāmantadeva, 209n176

Ki-Pin, Chinese term for Kāpiśī, 18.

Kīra, anc. principality in Kangra Valley, 20, 97, 97n105.

Krumu R., metioned twice in Rgveda, mod. Kurram, a western tributary of R. Indus, 28.

Kshāyatiya, title, meaning 'the king', used by the Persians, 6, 46n5, 49.

Kshāyatiyānām Kshāyatiya, 47.

Kshemagupta, k. of Kashmir, r. 950-958, 94, 95.

Kshemiśvara, see Āryakshemiśvara.

Kubhā R., mentioned twice in Ṛgveda, mod. Kabul, western tributary of R. Indus, 24.

Kuhu, Kuhū, R., noticed in Purāṇas and by Alberūni ; mod. Kabul R. and tribes of its Valley, 24, 25.

Kūnar R., resis at slopes of Hindu Kush as R. Chitral and falls in R. Kabul 4 miles below Jalalabad, joined by R. Bashgul at Arnawai, and R. Pech (or Presun, or Verun) at Chighan Sarai; R. Khoaspes of classics, 18.

Kurā, Salt Range, W. Punjab; stone inscription of the time of Toramāṇa Shāhi (date is lost) found at, 45n5, 46n5, 66, 239n70.

Kuram, Kurmah, Kurram R., rises in the valley east of the Lakarai Pass in Pakthia, SE Afghanistan, drains the southern flank of Mt. Safed Koh, and joins R. Indus 13 miles SE of Isa Khel (Mianwali district); 200 miles in length; 19, 24, 28, 34.

Kushāṇas, one of the Yue-chi tribes of Central Asia, imperial power in the early centuries of Christian era; 1. 6. 45, 45n3, 46, 46 n 5, 48, 48n18-19, 52, 53, 53n18, 54, 58, 64 n 87, 74 n 135, 188, 237; chief, 46 n 7; coinage, 47, 48; emp. 58; garments, 57 n 46; *genealogy* (1967), 53 n 18, see Mukherjee; impluse on Shāhi iconography, 231: inscriptions 46, 142n53; K., 47, 57, 63, 64, 188, 188n76; pen (style), 138n33, 159; period, 138n33, 141; territory, 53n18; titles, 46, 47, 48; *Kushāṇaputro*, 46n7; see Huvishka; Kadphises I; Kadphises II; Kanishka I; Kanishka III; Vasishka; Vasudeva I; Vasudeva II; Vema; Little Kushāṇas.

Kutaurmān, noticed by Prinsep, 63, 65n96; see Lagatūrmān.

L

Lagatūrmān, the last king of Turki Shāhi dynasty (rule ends in c860), 6, 62, 65, 66, 67, 78, 80, 81n23, 82, 87, 248.

Lahor, in NWFP, 38, 71n120, 72n122, 108n170, 123, 124.

Lahore, W. Punjab, 30, 31, 39, 41, 104, 105, 107, 108, 108n170, 120n248 124, 245.

Laith, see Amr or Amru ibn; Yaqub.

Lakatouzāman, Lakatūrzamān, 65n96.

Lakshmī, deity, 218, 228, 236.

Laktourzeman, Lagatūrmān, 66.

Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, k. of Kashmir (r. 724-760), 51, 61, 80n21, 230.

Lalla, Chhinda Rāja (992), Dewal inscription of, 137n31.

Lalliya, Hindu Shāhi k. (880-83-900), 7, 80n21, 81n24, 83, 85n45, 89, 89n60, 90, 90n65, 91, 92, 93, 98, 115, 116, 117, 118, 118n235, 122, 132.

Lambagā, = Lampāka (1030), 25, 35.

Lambakapālān, = Lamghan, 35.

Lamghān, mod. Laghman in E. Afghanistan, on either side of R. Kabul, 17, 18, 19, 25, 29, 30, 35, 36, 101, 103, 103n145-6, 104, 105, 107, 128, 129, 131, 237, 246.

Lamghan R., identified with R. Kabul (982), 24, 28; Lamghanata, 35.

Lampā, 18, 35; Lampā (ka), 35; Lampāka 18, 35, 237, 246: Lampākān, 35.

Lāwiks, ruling dynasty of Ghazni (10th. Cen.), see Abū 'Alī.

Lisowek, E. Europe, Coins, 209n176.

Little Kushāṇas, coinage, 64n92; see Kidāra Kushāṇas.

Lohitāgiri, of *Kāsikā*, = Hindu Kush, 21.

Loh-Kot, fort, of mediaeval times, in Loharin valley, Punch State, 31, 124; see Lahūr, Lohara.

Lohur, city and kingdom in early mediaeval Punjab, mod. Lahore, 124, 245, 248; troops of, 128; temples at, 245; see Bharata; Chandraoatta.

M

Mahīpāla, Gurjara-Pratihāra k. of Kanauj (c914-944), 96, 97, 97n105-6, 99n123.

Mahishamardinī, 235; see Durgā.

Mahishāsuramardinī, 245.

Mahmūd (971-1030), Sultān of Ghazni (r. 998-1030), 2, 5, 23, 30, 31, 40, 104n151, 105, 106, 106n159, 108, 109, 109n180, 110n188, 111, 111n197, 112, 112n201, 113, 114, 119, 120, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 208, 227, 228, 237, 242, 247.

Mahoba Fragmentary Inscription, 107n165; Mahoba in Hamirpur dt. U.P.

Makrān, province, SE Iran and SW Pakistan along the Gulf of Oman for 600 miles (S, Baluchistan) 69.

Mandahūkūr, fortress of Lauhāwur, Mahmudpur of coins, capital of Ghuznavide Punjab, 30, 30n130.

Maues, Śaka-Pahlave k. of Punjab and NW coins of, 184n42, 186n59.

Maukhari (s), kingdom of upper Gangetic valley (554-606), 185; k., see Iśānavarman.

Mazar-i-Sharif, capital of Balkh province in north-central Afghanistan; 9 miles E. of Balkh, 30 miles S. of R. Oxus; contains the tomb of Ali (built in 1420), 29; see Balkh.

Menander, Indo-Greek k., coins of, 184n41, 186n58, 188n69.

Mihirakula, Hūṇa emp. (c515-550) 46n5, 59n58, 133, 185, 185n47.

Mirand. Man-Yazīd, a fortress in Khurasan, 105n157.

Mohyāl, a class of secular Brāhmaṇas descended from the Brahman rulers of Punjab, consisting of seven clans, 80; see Brahma-Kshatras.

Muktāpīḍa, 73; see Lalitāditya.

N

Nagara, mod. Jalalabad, 18, 19, 29, 36, 237, 238, 248.

Nagarahāra. same as Nagara, 19, 36.

Nāgarī script, 146n68, 155, 213.

Nagarkot, mod. Kot Kangra, 23, 27, 36, 40, 53, 58, 77, 97.

Na-Ki-Lo-Ho, Nagarahāra, 18,36.

Nandana, fort, capital of Ānandapāla, 40, 111, 112, 112n201, 113, 123, 125, 230, 231, 249.

Naval expedition of Arabs, 69.

Nawās Shāh, Sukhapāla, 109, 110, 119, 120n248, 129.

Nidar, Bhīmapāla, 113.

Nigrahāra, mod. Nangarhar, SE province of Afghanistan, capital Jalalabad, 19.

Nimal, near Lamghan, 36, 103, 103n146.

Nirmal, corrupt form of Zabul, 74.

Nishāpūr, town, Khurāsān, N-E Iran, 119.

Nur R., tributary of R. Ghorvand, 25.

O

OA, III (1957), 231n25.

Obrzyck, Poland, coins, 209n176.

Ohind, Waihand, 23, 30, 31. 182n29.

Opian, city, identified as Kāpiśī, 32n146.

O-Po-Kien, Sanskṛit Avagana, 34.

Orthostāna, Ortospana, = Kabul 34.

Ou-K'ong visits Gandhāra (753-764), 52 see Wu-K'ong.

Oxus R., Amu Darya, Jayhun, rises in Soviet Tajikistan and N. Afghanistan at elevation 16,000 ft. and drains into Aral Sea, length 1577 miles; 69; valley, 29, 110, 119.

P

Pahlava (s), Indo-Parthians, 2, 184, 237. Also see Śaka-Pahlava(s).

Pāja, Shāhi prince in Kashmir, 113.

Pakistan, country, S. Asia, 1 9, 232n26; see *India and Muslim Community in Indo-*, North-Western region of Indo.

Pāṇini (fl. 5th Cen B.C.), the great grammarian, author of *Ashṭādhyāyī*, the standard authority on Sanskṛit grammar, 27, 38, 43, 124, 240.

Panjshir, district, at foot of Hindu Kush Mt., in Kapiśa province of East-central Afghanistan, 87n51.

Panjshir R., rises at foot of Khawak and Nawak 25, 32, 33.

Pantaleon, k. of Bactria, coins, 184n41.

Paropamisus Mts., Paropanisadae, mod. Hindu Kush range, 22.

Parshāwar, Puruśapura, Peshawar, 37.

Parujaipāla, Trilcchanapāla, 113n207.

Parvān, town, on the confluence of R. Panjshir and R. Ghorband, in Parwan province, East-central Afghanistan, 25, 33, 246.

Paṭoladeva Shāhi, Navasurendrāditya Nandin, k. of Gilgit (7th Cen.), 1n2 ; Vajrāditya Nandin, k. of Gilgit, c 7th Cen., 1n2.

Persia, country, mod. Irān, 30, 117, 134, 206, 210n178, 237, 243 ; see Irān.

Peshawar, city and district, NWFP, Pakistan : anc. Puruśapura on R. Kabul, 21, 29, 30, 34n167, 37, 42, 63, 63n80, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110n189, 119, 123, 123n269, 131, 134, 137, 171, 234n37, 235, 236, 237, 240.

Philoxenus, Indo-Greek k., conis, 188n69.

Pi-Lo-Sho-Lo, mts., in Kapiśa, 22.

Pi-Po-She, R., Ṛgvedic Vipāś. 27.

Pirāi, Pirī, Pirītigin, k. of Ghazni, 974-977. succeeded by Sabuktigin, 103.

Pitharāja, Shāhi prince, 113.

Poland, country, E. Europe, 209. 209n176, Po-Lo-Si-Na, mts., in Kapiśa, 22.

Poltava, province, E. Europe, 209n176.

Po-Lu-Sha, locality, mod. Palodheri or Pali near Charsadda, NWFP, 23, 36.

Posen, province, Poland, coins, 209n176.

Poshyamitradeva, of Vajīrasthāna, 167.

Potwar, plateau, between Attock and Salt Range, NWFP, Pakistan, 21.

Prabhākaradeva, minister of Kashmir kingdom, 91, 92, 93n83, 100n127.

Prabhākaravardhana, Pushyabhūti k. (580-606), 17, 59.

Prāntapāla, Ratbıl, 73.

Pratihāra (s), ruling dynasty of Kanauj (c810-1036), 80n21, 93n83, 99n123, 107n166, 231, 231n22 ; see Gurjarapratihāras.

Pu-Lu-Sha-Pu-Lo, Puruśapura, 37.

Punch-Marked coins, 184 (lion) ; 185 (peacock) ; 186 (elephant).

Punjab, land of the 'five rivers', partitioned between India and Pakistan (1947), 1, 15n11, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 31, 42, 43, 56, 62n70, 62n72, 71n120, 81, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 90n65, 106n159, 117, 124, 131, 134, 137, 139, 179, 180, 191, 206, 207, 227, 232 ; Hills, 139 ; Plains of, 20, 21, 72n122, 80n21, 134n13 ; under Hūṇas, 59n58 ; SW, 59n58; Western, 17, 21, 131 ; see Pañchanada.

Purshāwar, Puruśapura, Peshāwar, 37.

Purshur, capital of Jayapāla, 123n269.

Purushapura, capital of the Kushāṇas mod. Peshawar, 37, 122. 244.

Purushāvar, Puruśapura, Peshāwar, 25.

Pu-Se-Ka-Lo-Fa-Ti, (Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti 'lotus city'). Puṣkalāvatī ; Peukelas, Peukelaietis, Peukelaotis (Arrian) ; Peukolaītis (Strabo) ; Peucolais (Pliny); Proklais (Ptolemy; Periplus) ; Peukalei (Dionysus Periegetes) ; Puṣkalas (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa) ; Puskalāvata (Varāhamihira) ; Pukkalaotī (Pali) ; Pakhalavadi (Prakrit-Kharoṣṭhi) Fo-sha-fu (Ka-lan-chi), 37.

Puṣkalāvatī, Puṣkarāvatī, anc. capital of Gandhāra (earlier than Puruṣapura) ; old mounds of Shai.. khan Dheri, Mir Ziyarat and Mirabad region near Prang and Chārsada in Peshawar plain, 19, 29, 36, 37 : see Chārsadda ; Pu-Se-Ka-Lo-Fa-Ti.

Puṣyabhūti (s), Puṣpa-bhūti, Vardhana dynasty of Sthāṇviśvara and Kūnyakubja (c505-647), 17, 59, 75 ; see Prabhākara-Vardhana.

Q

Qandahār, town, in *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 37.

Queen (s) : of Ghandragupta II, 190, 190n88 ; Calliope ; Diddā ; Sugandhā ; Vasantalekhā.

Quṭaiba b. Muslim b. Amr al-Bāhilī (?-715), Arab Viceroy of Khurāsān, 704-15, leads expedition against Ratbil, 710-11, 71.

R

Rai, relation suggested with Ratbil, 74

Rājaśekhara, (fl. first half of 10th Cen.) dramatist court-poet of Mahipāla ; *Bhuvanakosha* of, 13n1, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of, 13n1, 14n2, 14n3, 16, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 43, 97n106, 237n59, 246n105; *Pracaṇḍa Pāṇḍava* of, 97 ; see *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*.

Rajasthan, Indian State, 179 : see *Annals and Antiquities of* Mewar.

Rajput (s) ; clans, 3 (dynasties) ; 79 (Kshatriyas) ; 79n14 (Gandhāra ; Jajuh); 117 (origin of Hindu Shāhis); 117n231 (tribe) ; 180 (coins) : see Chauhānas.

Ranmal, corrupt scribe of 'Zabul74.

Ranbal Ranbil, Ranbol, = Ratbill, 73n124.

Ranighat, Peshawar district, 169.

Ranighat Inscription, 42, 142, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163, 168-169, 173.

Ranmal, corrupt scribe of 'Zabul', 74.

Rantal, recorded in Mss of Muslim writers, = Ratbil, 73n124.

Rantbil, noticed by Ray, = Ratbil, 70.

Rantil, recorded in Muslim Mss, 73n124.

Rao, M. Rama, author (1958), 184n44, 186n60 ; see *List of Published Satavahan Coins.*

Rasālu, s. of Sālivāhana, 117n231.

Ratapāla, 73 ; Ratbal, 73n124.

Ratbil, gov. of S. W. region of Kabul under Hindu Shāhis, 41n255, 60, 66, 67, 71, 73-74, 74n135, 75, 83n33, 86, 87n50, 248; see also Zanbil; Ratbils, 87n50; Ratbyl, Rateil Ratpal, Ratpeil, Ratpil, 73n124.

Raumaka, Mt., Salt Range, Punjab, 23.

Red Sea, a narrow strip of water between Arabia and N. Africa, 16n11; see Skylax.

Religious cults and pattern, Shāhi period, 5, 96, 244-245.

Renbal, Reteil, Retpeil, = Ratbil, 73n124.

Rinpāl, Retnapāla, = Ratbil, 73.

*Ṛ*igvedic rivers, see Asiknī; Kubhā; Krumu; Gomatī. see under Gomal: Parushṇi, see under Irāvā; Sindhu; Śutudri; Vipāś; Vitastā; Suvāstu.

Rudradāsa, Audumbara k. (1st. Cen. B. C.) 186n57.

Rudrapāla, Shāhi prince, refugee in Kashmir, under K. Ananta (r. 1028-1063), 113.

Rudra Sātakarṇi, Sātavāhana k., 189n60.

Rudrasena I, Śaka Kshatrapa, 200.222, 186n61.

Rudravarmā, k. of Vemaka tribe, (1st. Cen. B. C.) 186n57.

Rukhkhaj. a tract of country in Sijistan (S. Afghanistan), watered by R. Khardarūy (mod. Arghandab R.) classical Arachosia, Avestic Harakhaiti, Achaemenid Harauvatish; winter residence of Ratbils, 70, 71.

Rusal, 73n124, 87n50; Rutbil, 70; Rūtsal, 73n124; Rutunpal, 73; see Ratbil.

S

Sabuktigin (942-997), founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty of Ghazni and Lahore, r. 977-997, 28, 30, 36, 101, 102, 102n136, 103, 104, 104n151, 119, 120. 126, 128, 131, 228, 247.

Safed Koh, Mt. ranges, between R. Kabul and R. Kurram, S E Afghanistan, 19, 21.

Śaffārid (s). of Sijistan, 867-911, 67, 67n105, 68, 72, 86, 88, 93, 127, see Amar, Yaqub.

Sāhi, 48n21, 93, Śāhi, 48, 48n21, 49, 58.

Sahiladeva, k. of Chamba (c 936-46), fights against Turushkas, 97n105.

Śāhimukhya (s), in Kashmir (8th cen.), 51.

Śaiva (s), 244; devotee, see Bhriṅgi; inscription, 170; sculptures, 233; temple (s), 135, 170 245; -ism, 187; panels. 233, see Digambaras, Pāśupatas.

Śaka (s), pastoral tribes of Central Asia, ruled over Kabul Valley, Punjab, Sind, Gujrat and Malwa (B. C. 160-57), 2, 45n3, 48n19, 66. 181, 186. 237; see. Bhūmaka; Liaka; Māna; era, 180; k., 184n43, see Seistan.

Śaka- Pahlava kings of India, see *coin Types of*, Ages I & II, Azilises, Maues, Zeionises. also, Pahlava (s).

Śaka Sātakarṇi, Sātavāhana k. 184n44, 186n60.

Śākala, She-kie-lo, capital of Madra janapada in Vāhīka country, on N bank of R. Ayaka, anc. Āpagā, in Rechna (Rāvī-Chenab) doab of W. Punjab, 29.

Sakāvanta, Sakāwand, locality, 65 miles S. of Kabul via Zargan and 15 miles N. of Gardez via Tandan. 31, 32, 94, 94n85, 122, 127, 130, 228, 242; see Attimur pass; Gardez.

Sākhis, people, 11th. Cen., Shāhis 17n18.

Śalātura, So-lo-tu-lo, locality, in Gandhāra; 4 miles N-W of Hund on W. bank of R. Indus and 6 miles E. of Jahangirah, in Swabi tehsīl, Mardan district, N-W.F.P., 38, 108n170, 239; see Lahor.

Sālivāhana, traditional ruler of Sialkot district, W. Punjab, 117n231; see Rasālu.

Salt Range, a hill system with rock salt deposits, commences on right bank of R. Jhelum. crosses R. Indus and merges in Waziristan Mts. 24, 40, 79n14, 111, 128, 230.

Samand, Sāmantadeva. Hindu Shāhi, 85, 91.

Samanids, a great native dynasty of Aryan element ruling in Khurāsān and Transoxania 819-1005, 72.

Sāmanta, title, 82n30, Sāmantadeva 85n45

Poltava, province, E. Europe, 209n176.

Po-Lu-Sha, locality, mod. Palodheri or Pali near Charsadda, NWFP, 23, 36.

Posen, province, Poland, coins, 209n176.

Poshyamitradeva, of Vajīrasthāna, 167.

Potwar, plateau, between Attock and Salt Range, NWFP, Pakistan, 21.

Prabhākaradeva, minister of Kashmir kingdom, 91, 92, 93n83, 100n127.

Prabhākaravardhana, Pushyabhūti k. (580-606), 17, 59.

Prāntapāla, Ratbil, 73.

Pratihāra (s), ruling dynasty of Kanauj (c810-1036), 80n21, 93n83, 99n123, 107n165, 231, 231n22 ; see Gurjarapratihāras.

Pu-Lu-Sha-Pu-Lo, Puruśapura, 37.

Punch-Marked coins, 184 (lion) ; 185 (peacock) ; 186 (elephant).

Punjab, land of the 'five rivers', partitioned between India and Pakistan (1947), 1, 15n11, 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 31, 42, 43, 56, 62n70, 62n72, 71n120, 81, 83, 85, 88, 89, 90, 90n65, 106n159, 117, 124, 131, 134, 137, 139, 179, 180, 191, 206, 207, 227, 232 ; Hills, 139 ; Plains of, 20, 21, 72n122, 80n21, 134n13 ; under Hūṇas, 59n58 ; SW, 59n58; Western, 17, 21, 131 ; see Pañchanada.

Purshāwar, Puruśapura, Peshāwar, 37.

Purshur, capital of Jayapāla, 123n269.

Purushapura, capital of the Kushāṇas mod. Peshawar, 37, 122, 244.

Purushāvar, Puruśapura, Peshāwar, 25.

Pu-Se-Ka-Lo-Fa-Ti, (Po-shi-kie-lo-fa-ti 'lotus city'). Puṣkalāvatī ; Peukelas, Peukelaietis, Peukelaotis (Arrian) ; Peukolaītis (Strabo) ; Peucolais (Pliny); Proklais (Ptolemy; Periplus) ; Peukalei (Dionysus Periegetes) ; Puṣkalas (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa) ; Puskalāvata (Varāhamihira) : Pukkalaotī (Pali) ; Pakhalavadi (Prakrit-Kharoṣṭhi) Fo-sha-fu (Ka-lan-chi), 37.

Puṣkalāvatī, Puṣkarāvatī, anc. capital of Gandhāra (earlier than Puruṣapura) ; old mounds of Shaikhan Dheri, Mir Ziyarat and Mirabad region near Prang and Chārsada in Peshawar plain, 19, 29, 36, 37 : see Chārsadda ; Pu-Se-Ka-Lo-Fa-Ti.

Puṣyabhūti (s), Puṣpa-bhūti, Vardhana dynasty of Sthāṇviśvara and Kānyakubja (c505-647), 17, 59, 75 ; see Prabhākara-Vardhana.

Q

Qandahār, town, in *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 37.

Queen (s) : of Ghandragupta II, 190, 190n88 ; Calliope ; Diddā ; Sugandhā ; Vasantalekhā.

Quṭaiba b. Muslim b. Amr al-Bāhilī (?-715), Arab Viceroy of Khurāsān, 704-15, leads expedition against Ratbil, 710-11, 71.

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Rai, relation suggested with Ratbil, 74

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Soastos, classical river, a tributary to Cophen (Arrian, c180), see Swat.

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Takka, tribe, country of Bāhikas, between R. Indus and R. Beas, mostly in W. Punjab; noticed by Hemachandra, Rājaśekhara, Yādavaprakāsa, Hiuen Tsang (Cheh-kia), and in *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Kuvalayamālā*, *Rājatāraṅgiṇi*, *Chachnama* (Tākiya), and coin legend (Takān, Tukān), 27, 44, 68, 246.

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Taxila, famous seat of learning (4th Cen. B.C.), 30 miles E. of Indus R., 19, 59, 59n57, 184, 184n39, 186n57, 187, 207, 232 ; see Takṣaśilā.

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Toremāna, Toremen (rebel, insurgent), Turkish term, 66 ; see Turamān.

Transoxiana, Transoxania, region in Central Asia ; Mā-warā-n-nahr 'beyond the river (Oxus)' of Arab historians ; comprising (1) Sughd (Bukhāra and Samarkand), (2) Khwārizm (Khiva), (3) Saghānian, (4) Farghānah, and (5) Shāsh (Tāshkand), 131.

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Trilochanapāla, Gurjara-Pratihāra k. of Kanauj (r. 1019 1035), 113n207, 135n18.

Tsan, Chinese term for Cabul region (10th. Cen.), noticed by Yule, 18.

Tukharistan, Tocharistan, of Arab geographers ; anc. Bactria, Tahia, Tu-ho-lo ; bounded by Balkh on E, Bāmyān and Parwan on S., Badakhshān on W , and Āmū Daryā on N., comprising territory of mod. Afghan provinces of Samangān, Kunduz Baghlan & Tākhār ; 133, 237 ; see Tokharistan ; Tokhara.

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Udyāna, anc. kingdom; U-ch'angna, Uḍḍiyāna; covering the whole mountainous region S. of E. Hindu-Kush and Dardistan from Chitral to R. Indus; in Swāt Valley, 20, 29; see Swat Valley.

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Uttarāpatha, a region in S. Asia; peoples of Gandhāra, Kashmir, Himāchal, Punjāb and Sind, 6, 13, 13n2; borderland, 16; citizens of foreign origin, 237; grapes, 43, horses 43, 246n105; ū Hūṇa-Thāneswar conflict 59, 16n13; Kapisa, excluded in, 18; Kuhu R., 24; location, 14; Sindhu R. 25; Vitastā R., 26.

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Vāhlika, Janapada, Bakhdi (Avesta). mod. Balkh in N. Afghanistan, 246n105.

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Waihand, city, mod. Hund, under Labor Police Station, in Swabi tehsil, Mardan district ; on right (west) bank of R. Indus ; 15 miles above Attock, 38, 38n203, 41, 97n106, 106, 106n159, 107, 123, 124, 125 : see Udabhāṇḍapura ; Lahor ; Salatura ; Und.

Wana, identified as anc. Varaṇa by Saint-Martin, 20.

Waziristan, a Mt. tract enclosed on N. by Tochi R. Valley and on S. and W. by Gomal R. Valley ; between N. W. F. P. of Pakistan and Pakhtia province of Afghanistan ; area 4, 473 sq. miles, 21.

Wu-k'ong, ū-k'ong, Ou-k'oung (fl. 751-790), Chinese envoy, 244; see Ou-k'ong.

Wu-sung, Chinese traveller, 52.

Wu-to-ka-han-t'u (or cha), 37, 51.

Y

Yamin-ud-daula, title of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 208.

Ya'qūb b. Laith b. Mu' addalas-Saffār, Amir of Sijistān (r. 861-879), 1, 53, 67n105, 72, 84, 86, 86n49-50, 87, 87n50-1, 88, 90, 118n234, 121, 122, 199n125; see Saffārids; Sijistān,

Yarve, Estonian S.S R., 209n176.

Yaroslavl, E. Europe. coins, 209n176.

Yaśodnara (fl. 10th Cen.) of Lalitāditvapura on R. Vitastā, 98, 99, 100, 249.

Yaśovarmadeva (fl. 1st half of 8th. Cen. and last quarter of 7th. Cen.), k. of Kanauj (r. c725-752) 56.

Yaśovarman (fl. 1st half of 10th Cen.), Chandela k. of Kalanjara, 40, 96, 97.

Yaudheya, martial tribe and republican community of great antiquity ; in the territories of SE Punjab and Haryana States (2nd-4th. Cen.), 186n57.

Ye-tha, Ye-ta or Ye-da, Chinese term for Ephthalites, named after their ruling family, Ye-ti-i-li-do ; racial name Hua-tun or Hion, i.e. Hūṇa tribe (5th-6th. Cen.), 45, 57 ; see Haytal.

Yue-chi, Yueh-chih, 54 ; see Kushāṇa (s).

Yusufzai, Pathan tribal group of Peshawar plain, 171, 206, 233, 234.

Z

Zābul, Zābulistān, 15, 17, 32, 55, 55n31, 58, 59, 59n58, 61, 62, 62n70, 62n72, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 72n122, 74, 75, 87n50. 93, 121, 134n12, 136n24, 232n25.

Zembil, Zanbil, Zanbol, Zantil = Ratbil, 44n2-5, 70, 73, 73n124.

Zarah, Zirreh, 70 ; see Hamūn-I Helmand.

Zaranj, city. Persian Jarang ; near Sanārudh, chief canal from R. Helmand ; 70, 86 ; see Seistan.

Zenbil, Zenbyl, Zentil, Ratbil, 73n124.

Zend Avestā, 22.

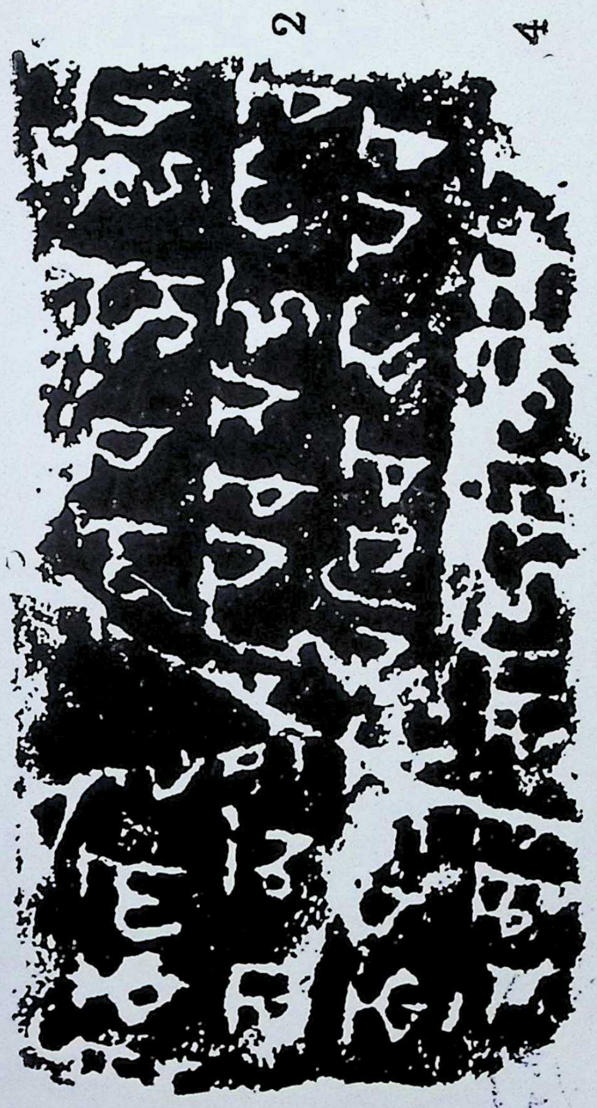
Ziārat, temple transformed into, 229.

Zoilus II, Indo-Greek k., coins of 186n58.

Zunbīl, title of local rulers in Hephthalite kingdom of Zābul in honour of Indian Deva, Zūn (a form of Śiva) the famous idol all of gold, temple on Mt. Jabal-az-Zur (Shu-na-hi-lo) in Tsau-ku-t'a (Jāguḍa), 86 ; see Ratbil.

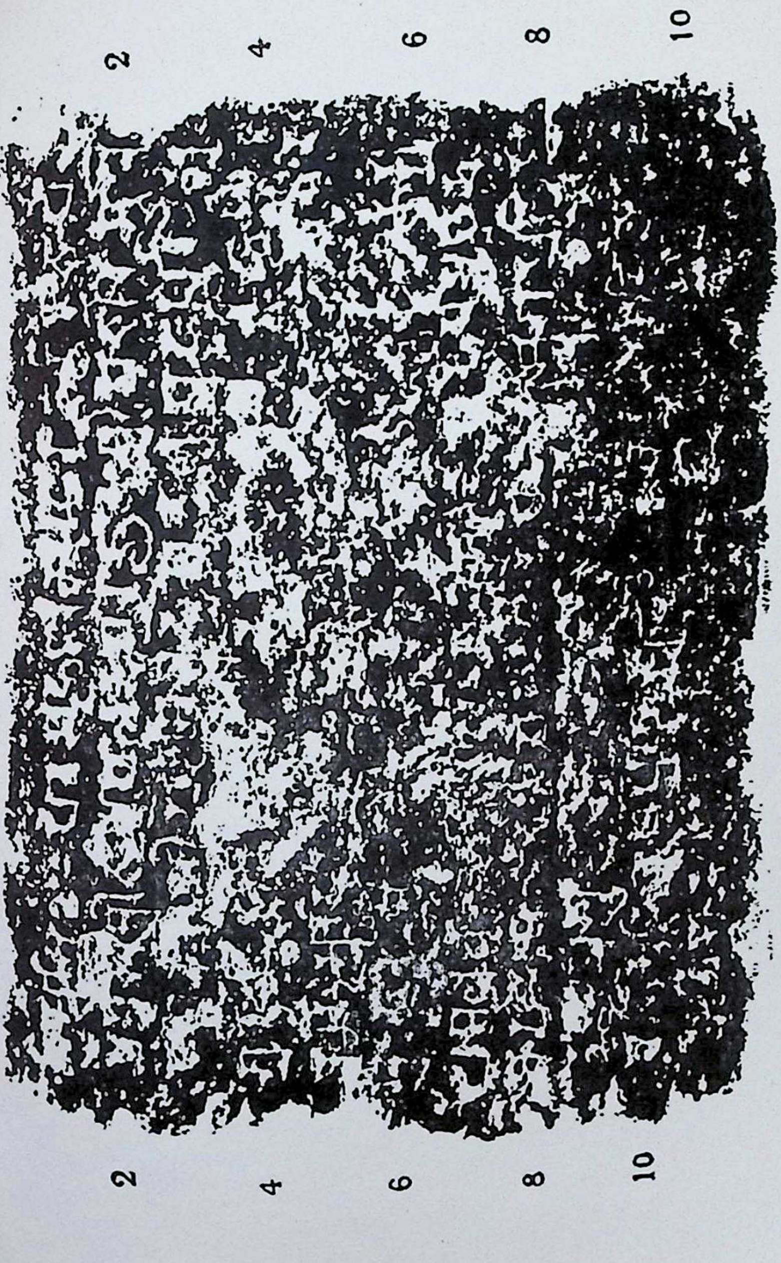
Zurmat, 31 ; see Gardez.

Plate II



Dewai stone inscription of Śahi Bhīmadeva

Plate **III**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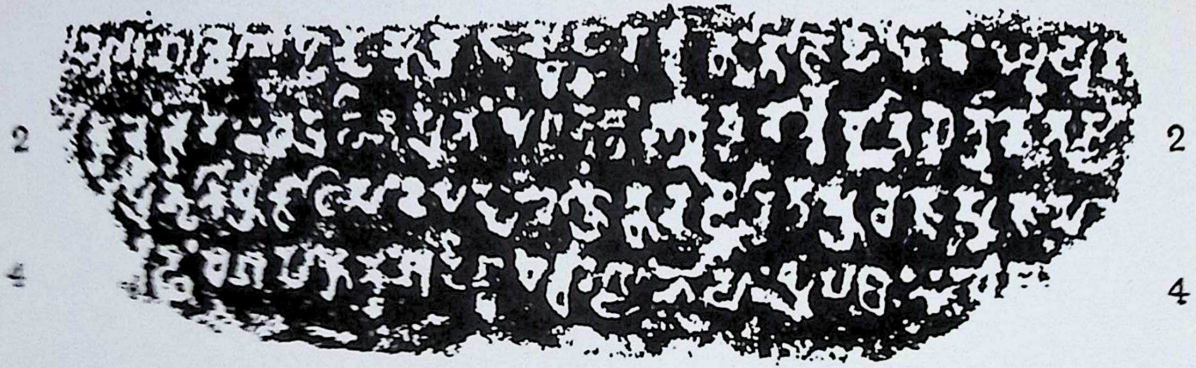
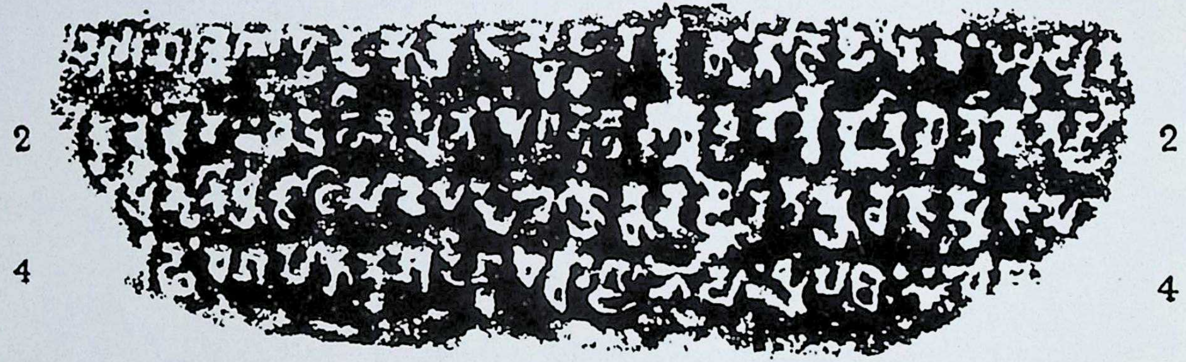
Barikot inscription of the reign of Jayapāladeva

Plate IV



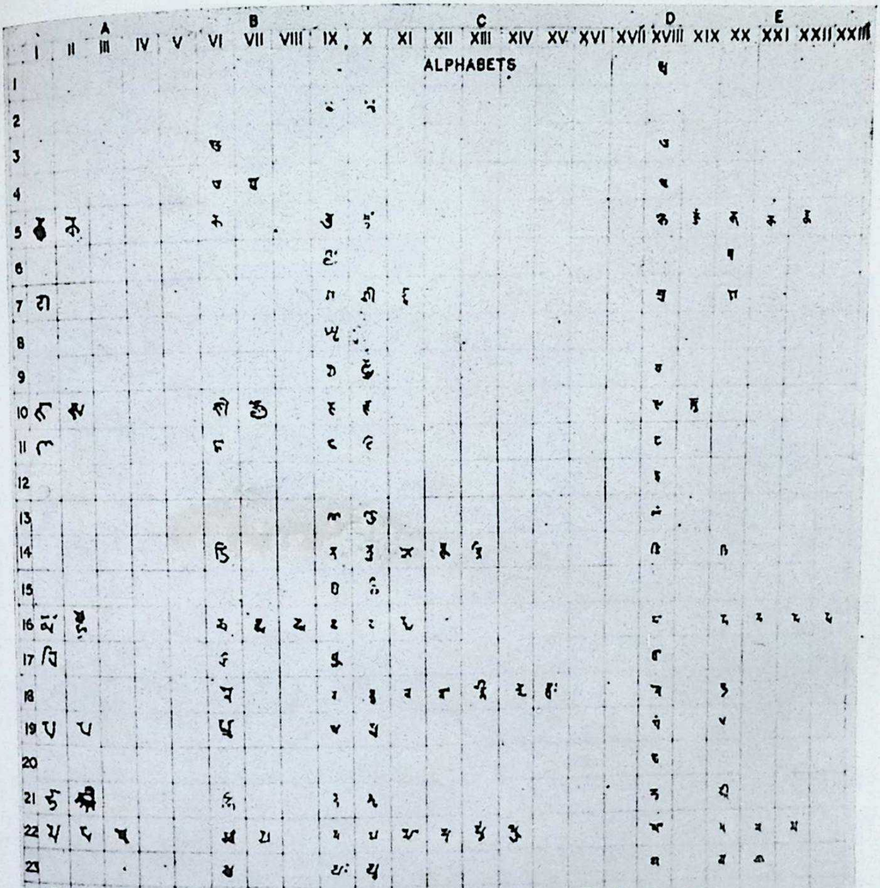
Ranighat inscription

Plate IV



Ranighat inscription

Plate V


A
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IX
X
XI
XII
XIII
XIV
XV
XVI
XVII
XVIII
XIX
XX
XXI
XXII
XXIII
ALPHABETS
NUMERALS
1
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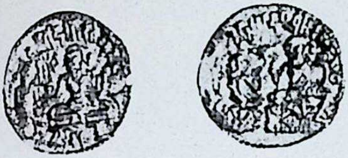
Palaeographical Chart

Plate VI



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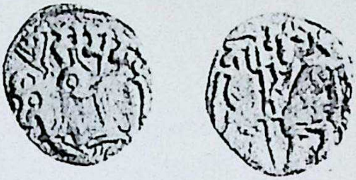

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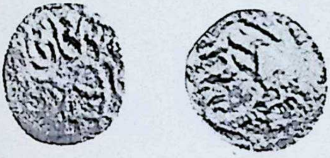

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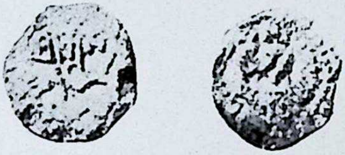

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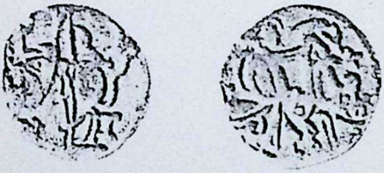

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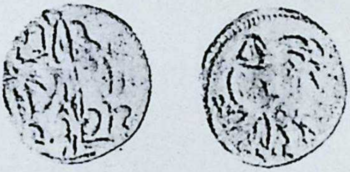

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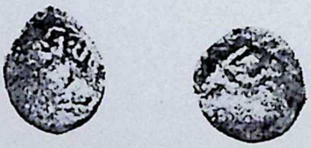

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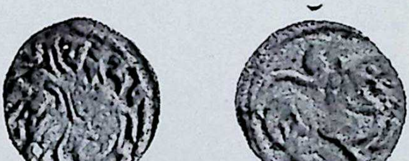
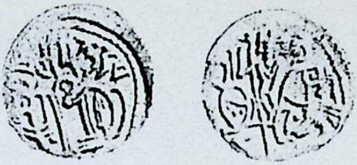


8

Obv. Rev.

Coins of Bhīmadeva 1—3 ; Coins of Kamalavarman 4 ; Coins of Vakkadeva 5—8

Plate VII



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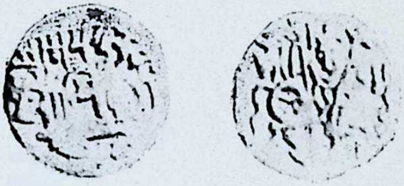

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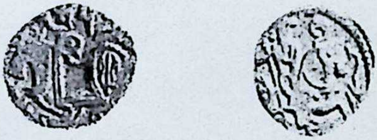

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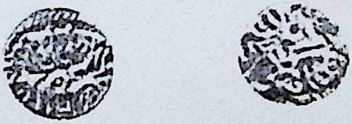

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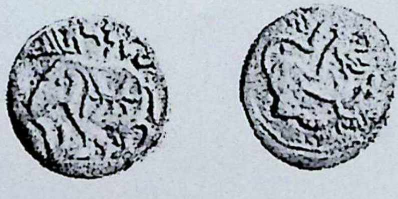

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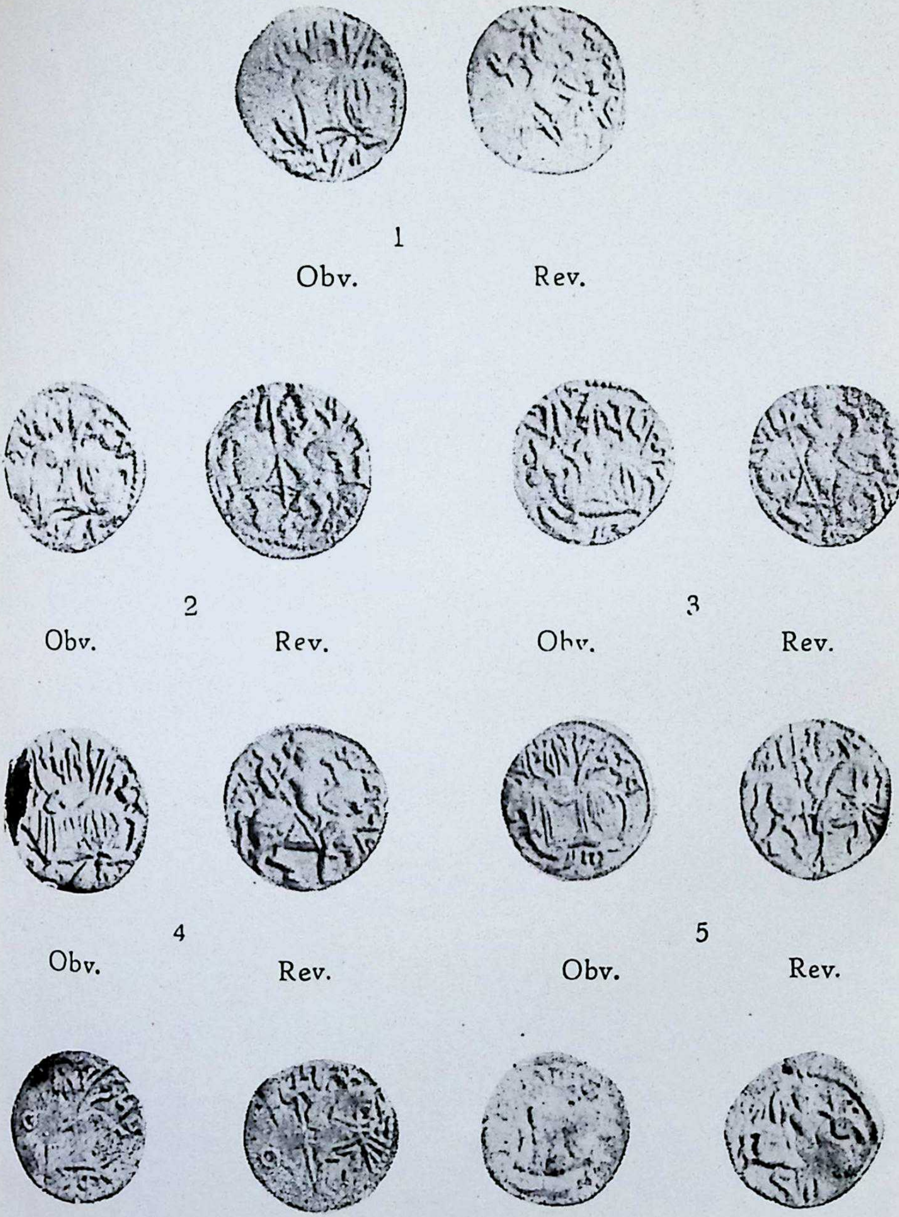
Obv. Rev.

Coins of Sāmantadeva

Plate VIII



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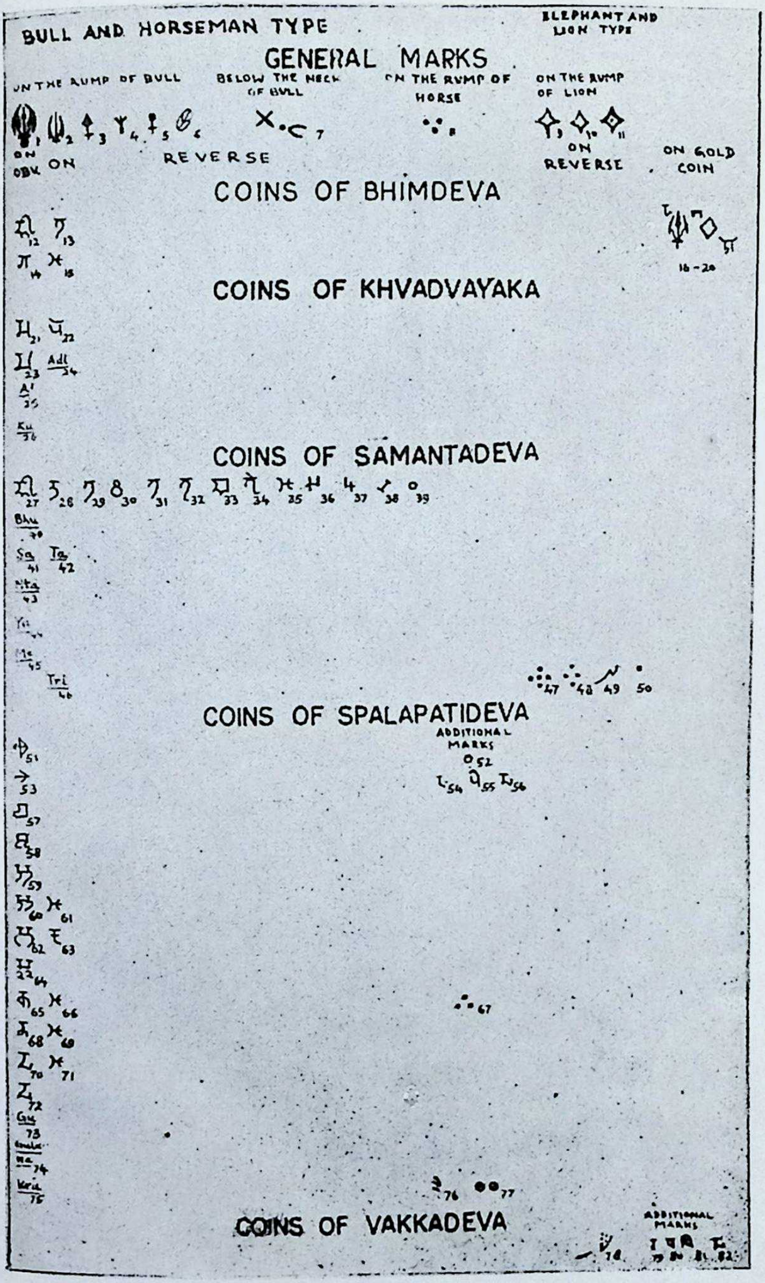
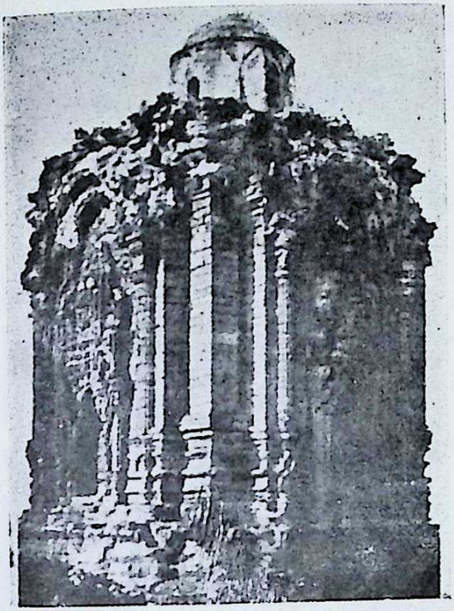
Coins of Spalapatideva

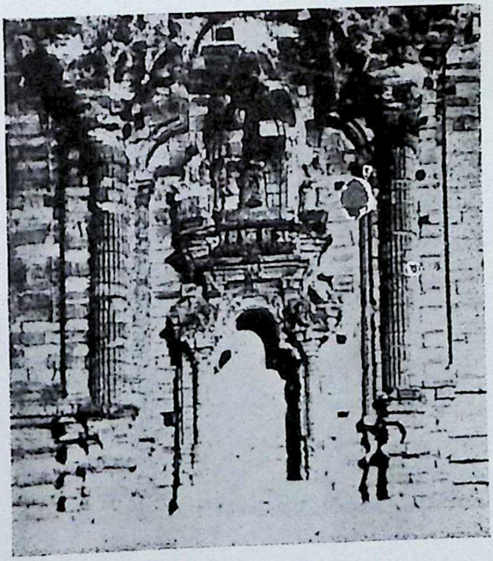
Plate IX


BULL AND HORSEMAN TYPE
ELEPHANT AND LION TYPE
GENERAL MARKS
ON THE RUMP OF BULL
BELOW THE NECK OF BULL
ON THE RUMP OF HORSE
ON THE RUMP OF LION
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
ON OBV
ON REVERSE
ON REVERSE
ON GOLD COIN
COINS OF BHIMDEVA
12 13 14 15
16-20
COINS OF KHVADVAYAKA
21 22 23
Adi 24
Ai 25
Ku 26
COINS OF SAMANTADEVA
27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39
Bhu 40
Sa 41
Ta 42
Nta 43
Yi 44
Me 45
Tri 46
47 48 49 50
COINS OF SPALAPATIDEVA
ADDITIONAL MARKS
51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72
Gu 73
74
Kra 75
76 77
COINS OF VAKKADEVA
ADDITIONAL MARKS
78 79 80 81 82

Mint Marks on the Shāhi Coins

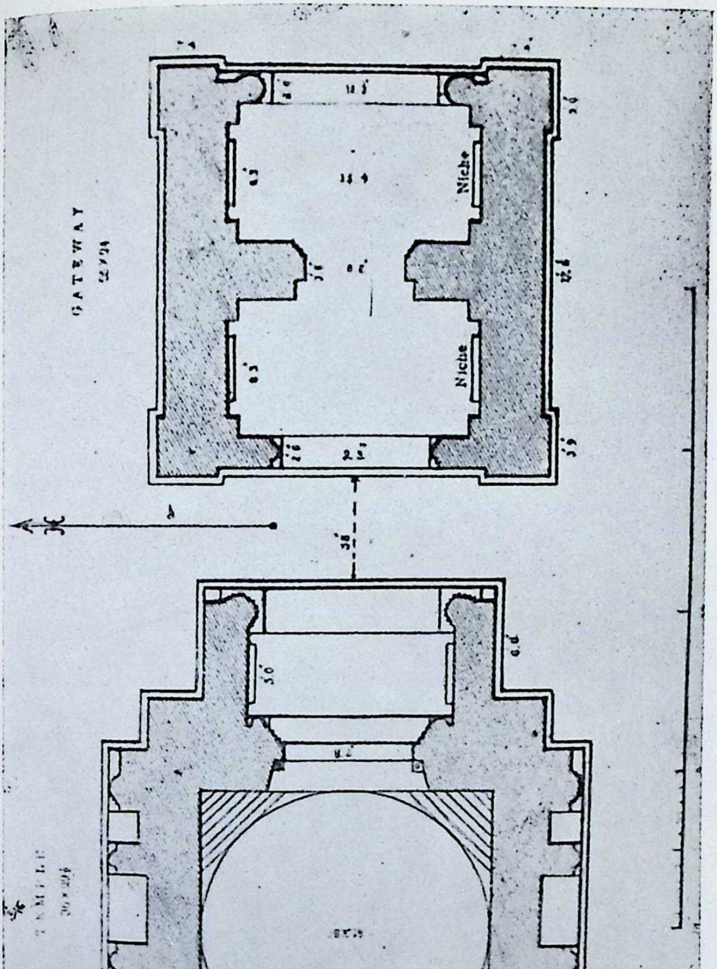


1. Malot temple

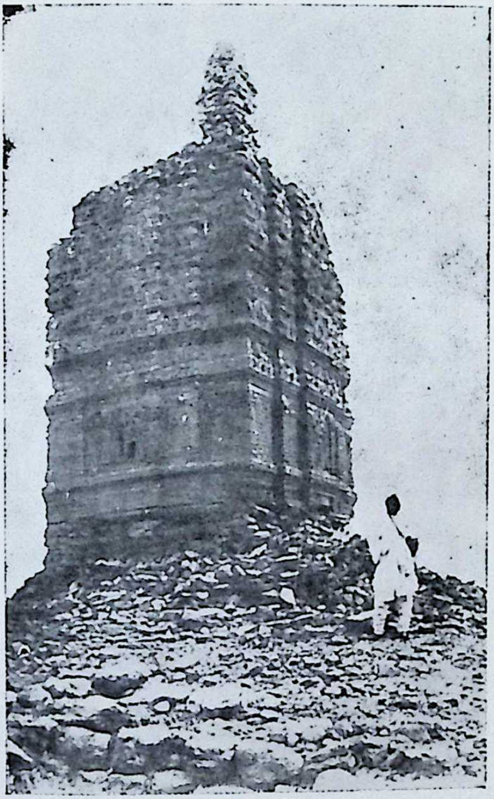


2. Close up

Plate X

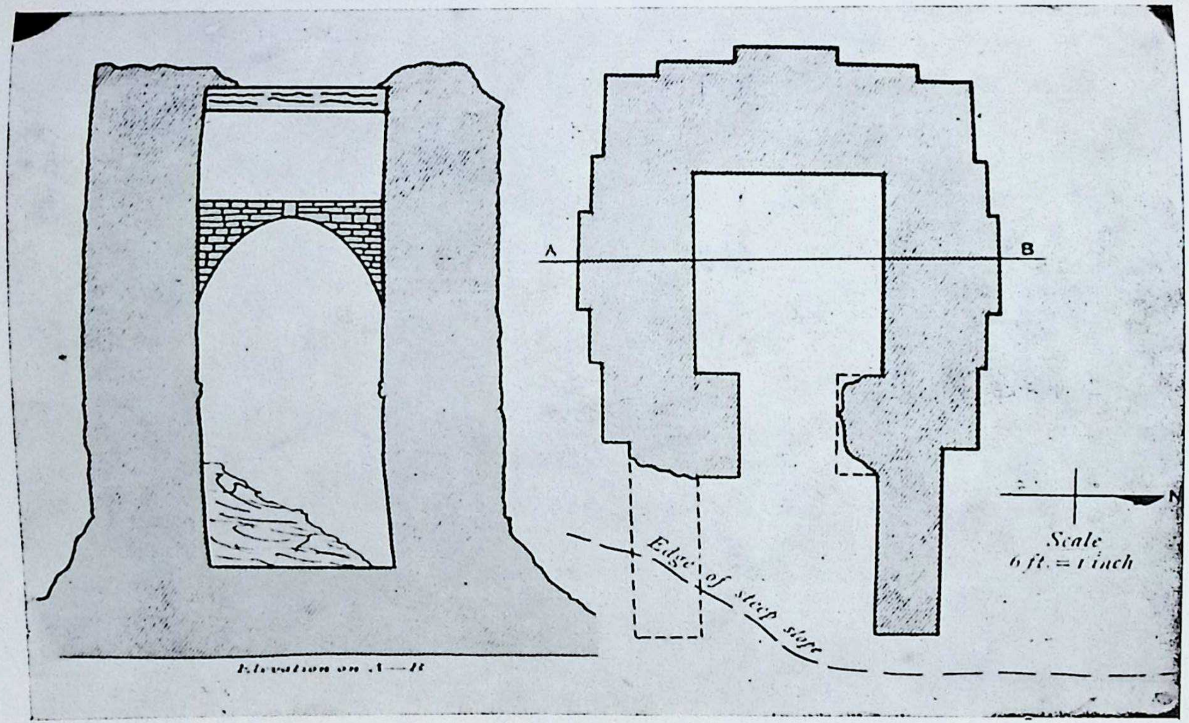

GATEWAY
TEMPLE
Niche
Niche

3
Plan

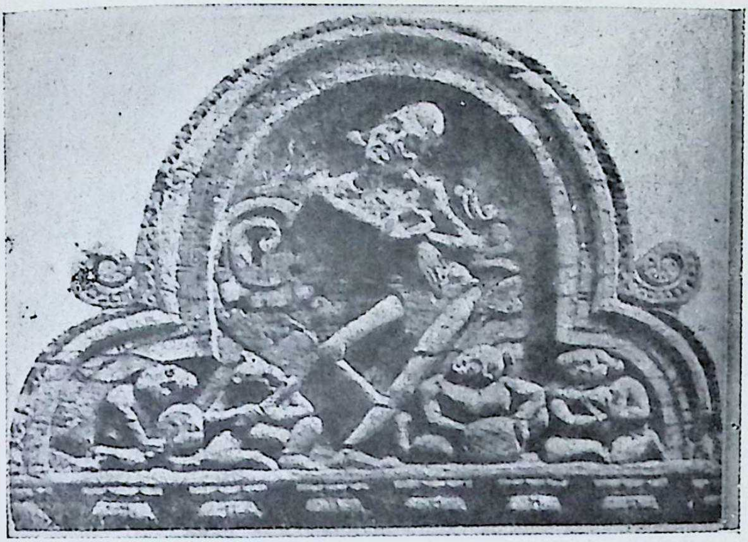


1. Kalar Temple

Plate XI


A
B
N
Scale
6 ft. = 1 inch
Edge of steep slope
Elevation on A—B

2. Plan



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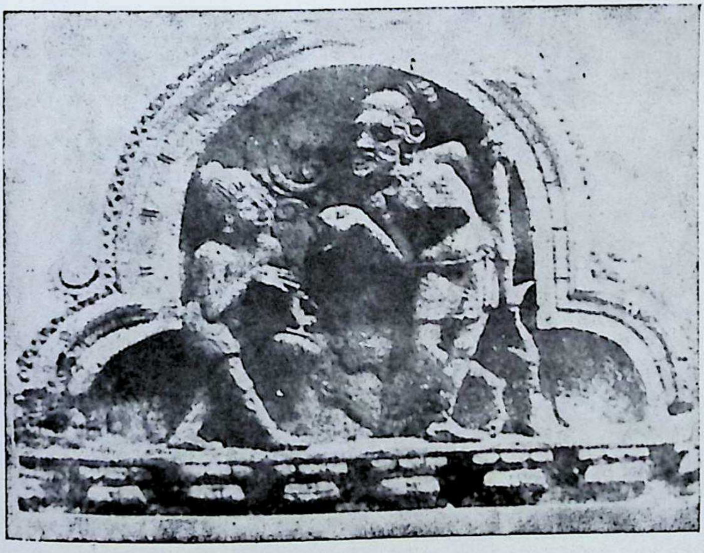
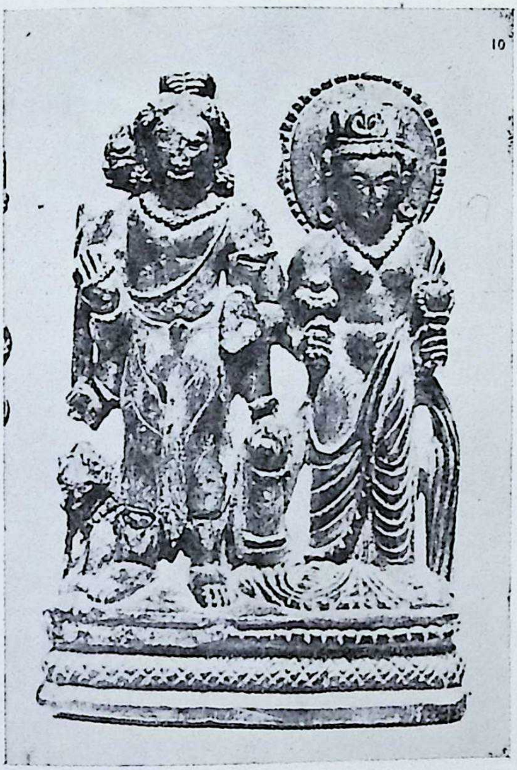


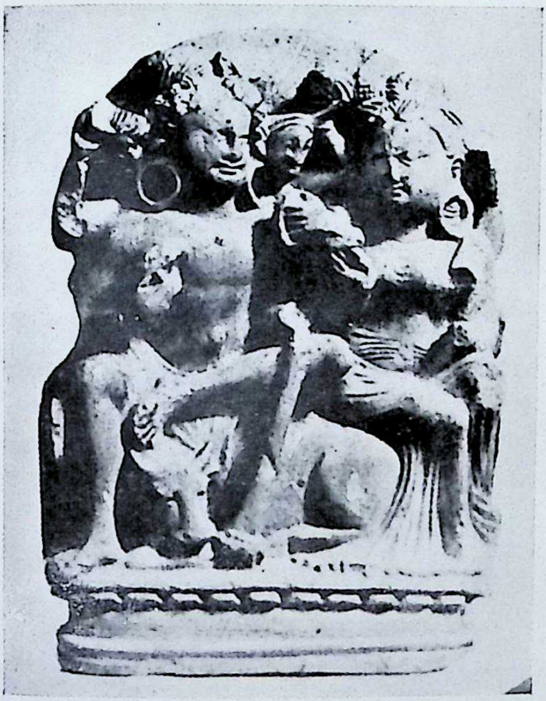
2

1-2 Śaiva Wooden reliefs

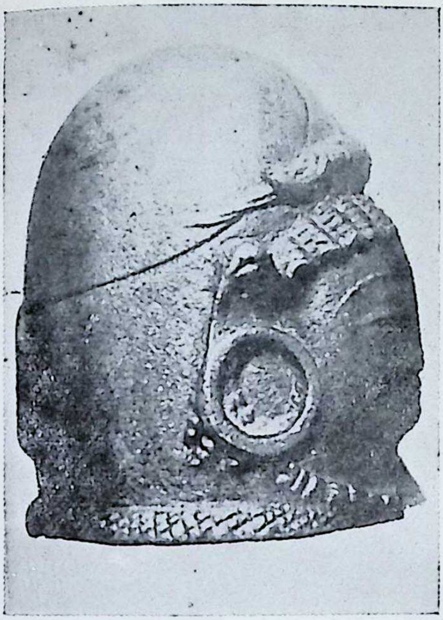
Plate XIII



1. Siva and Pārvatī



2. Siva and Pārvatī



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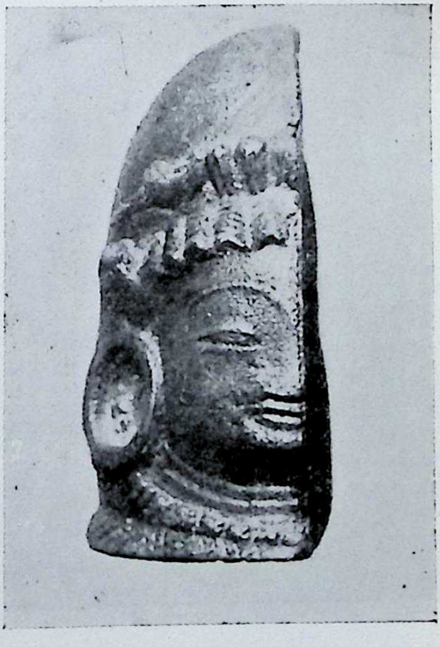
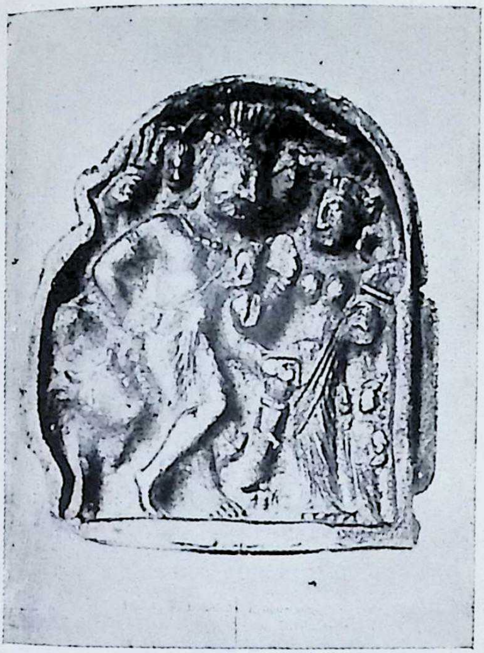


2

Ekamukhi Śiva Lingas, Bronze.
1. front, 2. Side

Plate XIV



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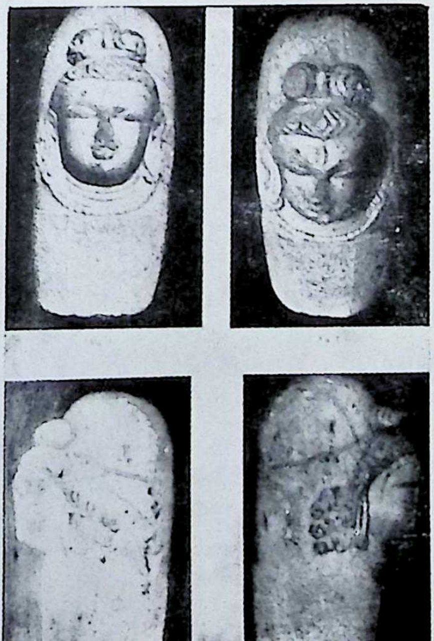
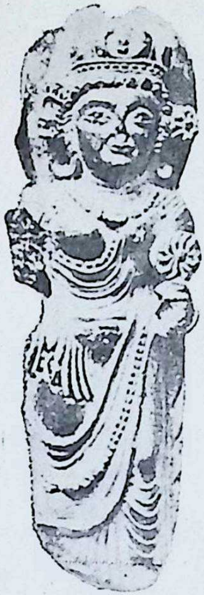


3. Back views; stone,
4. Front and side views.

Plate XV



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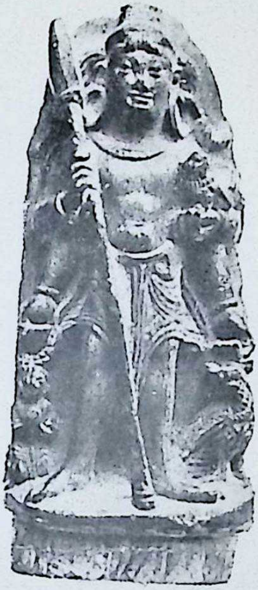

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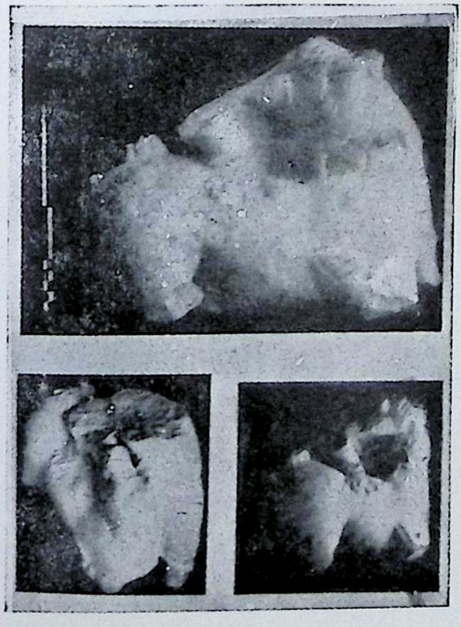

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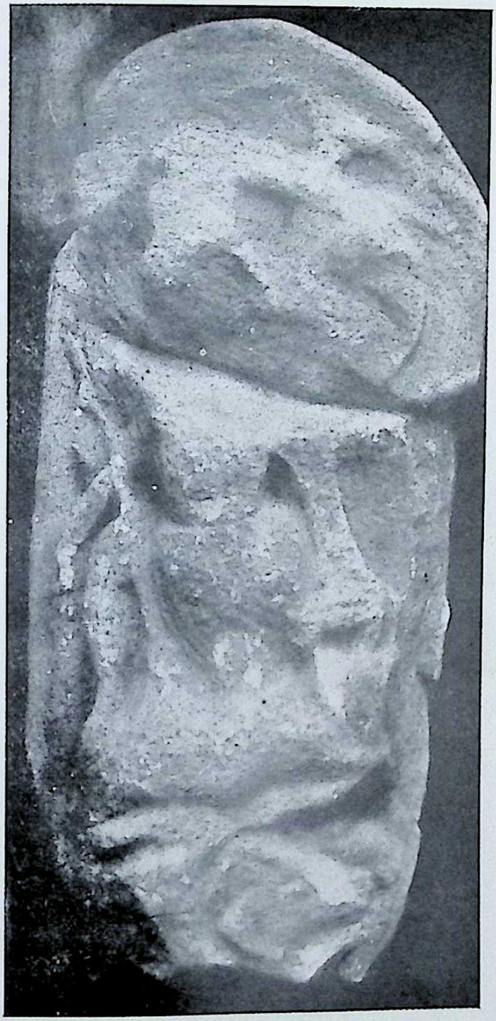
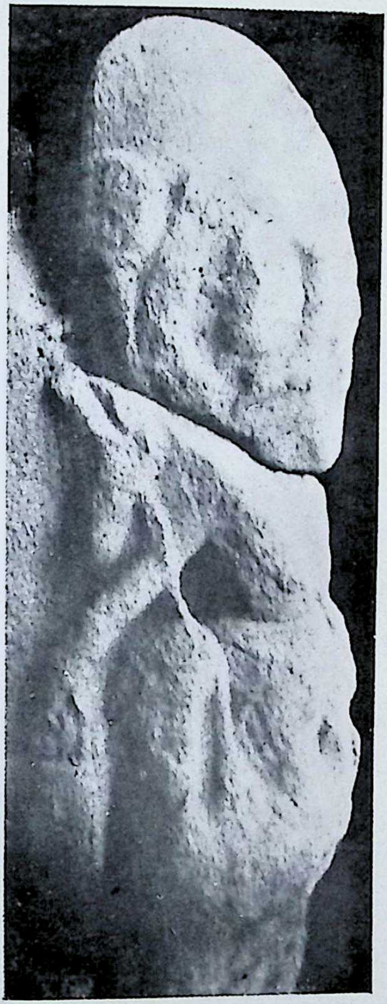
1. Pārvatī ; 2. Kārtikeya ; 3. Mahishāmardinī



1

Head.



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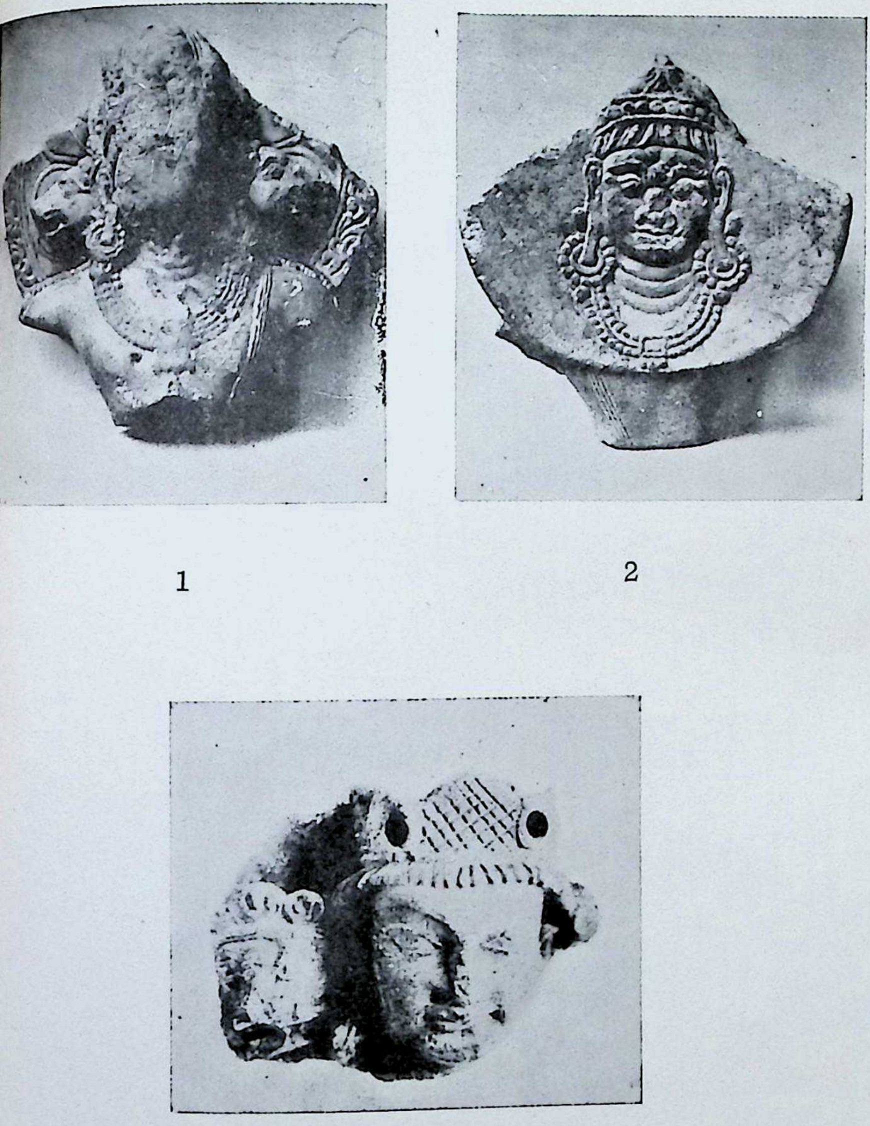
Head.

Plate XVII



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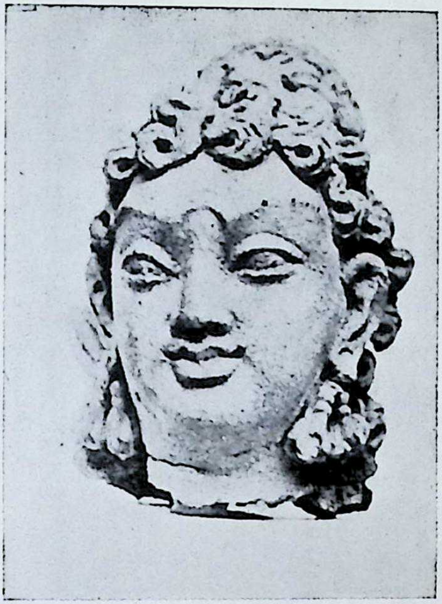
Vaikunṭha Vishṇu, marble
1 Front 2. Back views. 3. Terra-Cotta.

Plate XVI



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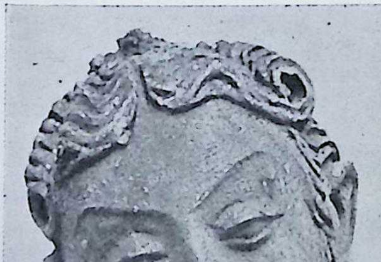

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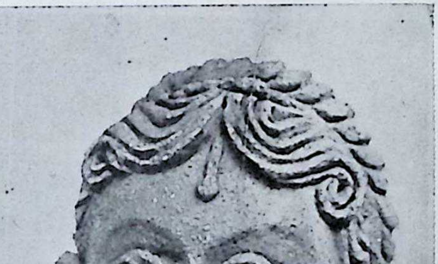

6

4—6. Other Terra-Cotta.

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